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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

VOLUME LXVIII.

FIFTH SERIES, VOLUME VI.

JANUARY, MARCH, MAY, 1860.

"Porro si sapientia Deus est, ... verus philosophus est amator Dei."—St. Augustine.

BOSTON:
BY THE PROPRIETOR,
At WALKER, WISE, & CO.'S, 245 Washington Street.
NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO., 554 Broadway.
LONDON: EDWARD T. WHITFIELD, 178 Strand.
1860.

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University Press, Cambridge:
Printed by Welch, Bigelow, and Company.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JANUARY, 1860.

Art. I. — THE WOMEN OF HOMER.

Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age. By Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Oxford. 1858–59. 3 vols. 8vo.

We are accustomed to regard Homer as the greatest of epic poets, and the Iliad and the Odyssey as among the grandest creations of the human mind. Whether our knowledge of these poems is limited or extensive, whether we have studied them in the original or have gained some slight acquaintance with their power and beauty through the translations of our English poets, — at all events, we are not unwilling to acknowledge their superiority over the productions of modern times. Yet it may safely be asserted, that the majority of educated men form their opinion of the Iliad and Odyssey more from the judgments of others, and from the fact that they have been raised to such an eminence by the decision of past ages, than from any intimate acquaintance on their part with the poems themselves.

In discussing the subject we have proposed to ourselves, it will be necessary to take a much nearer view of these wonderful productions. The pictures which are usually beheld only as distant objects that excite our awe and admiration, must be approached, and studied in detail, if we would do justice to the great master whose genius created these various forms of life and beauty. In such a study there are obvious difficulties, which we do not encounter in attempting to comprehend the

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works of modern poets. Shakespeare, for example, is not only better known through his works than Homer, but the different characters in his plays have been analyzed and described by some of the ablest critics, philosophers, and essayists who have flourished since the age of Elizabeth. On the other hand, until the recent work of Mr. Gladstone, there has been no full and comprehensive criticism on the genius of Homer and the character of the Homeric age. However fanciful we may consider some of the views and explanations which this writer has given, we must concede to him the high merit of having employed the results of his patient and original investigations in endeavoring to excite in his readers the same love for the Homeric poems, and the same clear conception of the characters therein portrayed, which kindled his own warm enthusiasm, and incited his careful and critical labors in this important department of Greek literature.

In connection with our present subject, it may be remarked that Mr. Gladstone is the first commentator on Homer who has fully defined the position of woman in the Heroic Age, and by his searching analysis of the character of Helen he has also shown that the genius of Homer is no less clearly displayed in the delineation of female character than in the description of heroes, princes, and statesmen. But the remarks of Mr. Gladstone concerning the women of the Iliad and Odyssey must be regarded as suggestive rather than exhaustive. Of the four principal female characters in the poems, he has selected only one as the object of his extended comments. There is here, therefore, a wide field for research; and, without pretending to a thorough comprehension of the female characters of Homer, we may hope to learn something of the ideal of woman which these "divine" songs convey to us from the early ages of Grecian civilization.

Of all Homer's female characters, Nausicaa and Helen are the most wonderful. The first is incomparable as a poetic conception; the latter is the most *feminine* of all the women of antiquity, and is drawn by Homer with the rarest artistic skill. In a regular classification of the women of the Iliad and Odyssey, these are the extremes of simplicity and complexity, while all the other characters are found to combine with their own proper individuality some quality taken from these two.

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The difficulty in obtaining a just comprehension of the character of Helen arises from several causes. To many minds, her name suggests only the faithless and dissolute woman. This character is indeed given to Helen by the later traditions, and, with various modifications, is set forth not only by Grecian tragedians and Roman poets, but also by many writers in modern times. It is absolutely essential to a correct understanding of the Homeric Helen, that we should first dismiss from our minds this false representation, which has been transmitted to us by later poets. We must depolarize, as it were, the name which has passed through these various media, and has become the symbol of a character so widely different from the original creation of Homer. Nor is this all. To truly judge of any work of a great artist, we must approach it from the same point of view with the artist himself. This, indeed, requires an effort, especially if the representation before us is one which has been drawn with the utmost delicacy of poetic feeling. A careful and patient study of the genius and writings of Homer will alone enable us to gain any adequate idea of the heroinè of the Iliad.

Whether Helen was, or was not, a real historical personage, is of no importance to our present discussion. Nor is it necessary to inquire how far she was guilty in the crime of Paris. The Iliad opens in the ninth year of the war, and Helen is introduced to us in the palace of Priam, where she lives as the acknowledged wife of Paris. Her abduction, it is true, was the one event which caused the siege of the Trojan city, and without it there would have been no "wrath of Achilles" upon which to construct an Iliad. But it is no part of that Iliad to pronounce upon the guilt which attached to Helen, and we must regard the book in which alone she appears conspicuous as an episode, which, though connected with the subject of the poem, is in no way essential to the progress of the principal action.

Helen is first seen in the third book of the Iliad, where Paris is about to engage in single combat with Menelaus. She is summoned by Iris to witness the engagement. Instantly veiling herself, she descends from her chamber, and, attended by two handmaids, hastens to the tower. As she approaches the

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Scæan gate, Priam and the Trojan elders are so fascinated by her loveliness, that in the excess of their admiration they can find no cause for censure, and wonder not that the "Trojans and well-greaved Greeks endure so many hardships for such a woman." Priam kindly calls her his daughter, and invites her to sit by his side and describe to him the Grecian heroes whom he sees before the opposing camp. At first Helen is overwhelmed with grief and shame, and can make no reply to the inquiries of Priam, until she has humbled herself before him, and with bitter self-reproaches testified her deep repentance. After describing the principal Grecian warriors, she informs Priam that she sees nowhere in the plain her brothers Castor and Pollux, and her remorse naturally suggests her own disgrace as the cause of their absence. Her remarks conclude as they began, with a most affecting allusion to her former home and friends, and a severe denunciation of her own conduct in accompanying Paris to Troy. After this interview with Priam and the elders, Helen retires to her chamber. Here she is found not long after by Venus, who appears in disguise, and informs her that Paris has returned from the combat. Helen sternly rebukes the goddess, and scornfully bids her to go and become herself the wife of the effeminate prince. Incensed at these words, Venus threatens her with hate and destruction, and in silence Helen obeys her summons. When they reach the chamber of Paris, Helen with averted eyes taunts her lover for his cowardly and unmanly conduct, and bestows the highest praise upon the valor of her former husband. "In what follows," says Mr. Gladstone, "Helen is but the reluctant instrument of a passion, which Homer seems to have described in this place, contrary to his wont, for the distinct purpose of covering Paris with contempt and shame." Helen appears twice again in the Iliad. When Hector retires from the field to summon Paris to the fight, he finds the unmanly prince preparing his shield and fitting his bow, while Helen is seated among her servants, superintending their tasks. In his reply to the taunts of Hector, Paris says that Helen had been urging him with soft words to go forth to the battle. Helen then addresses Hector, and repeats in the strongest language her expressions of penitence and regret. She grieves

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that the gods who had decreed such evils had not united her to a husband who could feel some sense of shame and manly honor.

The last appearance of Helen in the Iliad is just at the close of the poem, where she is seen among the mourners over the dead body of Hector. She praises his gentleness and humanity, and laments his loss with a sorrow which arises from self-condemnation. "Would that I, O Hector! had perished first, for now, grieved at heart, I bewail thee, and myself unhappy, since there is no one left in wide Troy who is kind and friendly to me."

In the Odyssey we are twice introduced to Helen, who had returned after the war to Sparta, where she lived in prosperity and domestic happiness with her former husband. When Telemachus stops at Sparta to inquire about the absent Ulysses, he is received with the greatest hospitality and kindness by Menelaus and Helen. They weep over his sad recital, and Helen mixes a soothing drug with his wine. Then, in a speech to Menelaus, she relates her adventures at Troy when the wooden horse was brought into the city, and again mourns over the "calamity which Venus had caused when she led her from her home and country." Throughout the whole scene Helen appears as the elegant and dignified queen of a Spartan palace. She is likened by Homer to the "chaste Diana," and her refined manners and tenderness of heart towards her guests call forth our highest admiration.

We take leave of Helen in the fifteenth book of the Odyssey, where, at the departure of Telemachus, she presents him with a beautifully embroidered cloak, a memorial of her own skill and labor. Such is the Helen of the Iliad and Odyssey, as portrayed by Homer. Her matchless beauty, her deep-felt penitence, her classical elegance and refinement, her disdain of the effeminate Paris, her love for the brave and manly Hector, her dignity and affection as queen and wife in the palace of Menelaus, — all these various elements has Homer seized and fused together in one brilliant impersonation of superhuman beauty, with its divine lineaments softened by all the tenderness of a woman's nature, and shaded by a pensive and penitential sorrow.

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That such a character as this should have been misapprehended by some critics and commentators, is not surprising. Classical scholars, who can discuss with acuteness and ability the ingenious theories of Wolf and the Separatists, and who can give the most elaborate expositions of disputed passages, are not necessarily the best judges of a character which Homer has drawn with such fineness of outline and delicacy of shading. So able and accurate a critic as Mr. Mure has given to Helen a character widely different from that which seems to be so clearly portrayed in the few brief sketches of Homer. He regards her as the self-willed and unprincipled votary of sensual pleasure, not entirely devoid of amiable and generous feeling, which lurks beneath the general levity of her habits. Mr. Maginn, in the notes to his "Homeric Ballads," employs still stronger language, and describes Helen as "selfish, splendid, and sensual, — a reckless *intrigante*." In attempting to establish the correctness of the view of the character of Helen which we have given, we shall have recourse to the clear delineation of that character which is found in the Iliad and Odyssey, and to the general principles of interpretation which must always be applied in studying Homer. At the very first appearance of Helen, she is represented as an humbled and penitent woman. This consciousness of her guilt never forsakes her, but is the all-absorbing idea of her soul. By a peculiar use of language which has been called the "Homeric commonplace," whenever Helen is introduced, she employs nearly the same expressions of severe self-denunciation, in order to stereotype, as it were, this principal feature of her character. Homer has evidently not intended that we should fail to see Helen's guilt, but rather that we should see and forgive. We never lose sight of the heinousness of adultery as a crime, and, whatever may have been the degree of encouragement which Helen gave to her seducer, we are convinced from her own words that she looked upon herself as guilty and condemned.

In the Cleopatra of Shakespeare we behold all the frailties of temper and dissolute passions of a voluptuous queen. But Shakespeare has so portrayed this wonderful character, that "our sense of the criminality of her passion is lessened by our

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insight into its depth and energy." But the crime of Helen is relieved by no strength of will nor force of passion, whose terrible grandeur might excite our awe and admiration. The penetrating tint of a quiet sadness circulates, as it were, through every vein, and gives a subdued and pensive shade to the beauty of her divine countenance.

The view which has thus been presented of the character of Helen will be more clearly seen if we consider that, in all his other Grecian characters, Homer has never lost sight of that mental and moral superiority which he gives to his countrymen over their Trojan adversaries. It is impossible that the poet should have represented the only Grecian woman who appears in the Iliad as a faithless devotee of sensual pleasure, and this, too, that he might, by contrast, exalt the virtues of Trojan Andromache. There is, evidently, a correspondence between the character of Helen and that of Achilles. The hero of the Iliad is the impersonation of manly strength. In this grandest conception of Homer's genius, we see embodied all those qualities which, in the Homeric age, constituted the sublime and beautiful in the nature of man. But these noble qualities of Achilles are not exhibited in harmonious proportion. His virtues, by the very excess to which they are carried, become vices, while at the same time we cannot help admiring the terrible power which these vices display. "Achilles' wrath," the very source and spring of this Iliad of woes, is only a feeling of just resentment against ingratitude, which has exceeded the bounds of moderation, and degenerated into implacable vindictiveness.

If we turn now to Homer's delineation of the character of Helen, we shall find that, as Achilles is the embodiment of strength, Helen is the impersonation of beauty; that, while the former represents what was most manly in the spirit of the Homeric age, the latter is the most feminine of Homer's female characters. That relentless wrath which moved Achilles to withdraw from the army, was no less a violation of the moral law than the crime for which Helen mourned so sadly. Her error is nowhere represented as the evidence of a criminal passion, but rather as the result of that thoughtless vanity, and too great susceptibility, which are so often observed in

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connection with great personal beauty. In Achilles, again, we see that the terrible anger which possessed his soul could only be appeased by his strong affection for his friend Patroclus, to whom he was attached by a love "passing the love of women." To avenge the death of this friend, he becomes reconciled to Agamemnon, returns to the battle, and gives the victory to the Greeks. In like manner, the expiation which Helen makes for her guilt reveals to us the nobler qualities of her nature. Her beauty is no less divine, but in the place of that thoughtless vanity which had caused all her woes there is a settled sadness, a gentleness and refinement of manners, and a kindness of heart, which call forth our highest love and admiration.

We cannot more appropriately conclude this analysis of the character of Helen, than by quoting the encomium of Mr. Gladstone. "In the whole circle of the classical literature," remarks this writer, "there is nothing which approaches so nearly to what Christian theology would term a 'sense of sin,' as the humble demeanor, and the self-denouncing, self-stabbing language of the Argeian Helen."

We turn now to Andromache, the best known of the women of the Iliad and Odyssey, and, with most readers, the favorite character of these poems. Helen is a wonderful production of Homer's art; Andromache, a creation of his feelings and affections. We look upon the former with the same admiration with which we gaze on some finished statue, where the ideal of the sculptor's mind seems almost to animate the silent marble; but when we turn to the picture of Trojan Andromache, we are no longer looking upon a work of art, but behold before us a scene of natural beauty and loveliness.

The character of Andromache is not elaborately drawn; she is in no sense an ideal woman. Helen, in the midst of her remorse and self-reproach, seems more than mortal; and although her character is the transcript of qualities with which the poet himself must have been familiar, she was not intended by Homer to stand as a type of female character. Andromache, on the other hand, is like the characters of Shakespeare, which have been described as "*genera* that are intensely *individualized*." She represents the large class of patient and devoted

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women, in whose quiet lives, unseen by the world, faith, hope, and love lend their divinest charms to illustrate the heroism of suffering. Such women belong to no age exclusively,—they belong to all ages; and whenever their lives find utterance in song or story, the world listens with reverence and love.

Andromache, we have said, is not the production of Homer's art, nor was the episode in which her parting with Hector is described introduced into the Iliad for mere artistic purposes. Yet among all the scenes of friendship and affection which the poet's imagination might have conceived, no other picture could have represented so vividly, and at the same time in such soft tints, the sorrows and desolations of war, as this touching description of the interview between Hector and Andromache at the Scæan gate. We forget for the time the wrongs done to the house of Menelaus, and the justice of the cause for which the Greeks contended. We hear no longer the din of battle, and even the familiar faces of the Grecian heroes fade from our memory. At the foot of the tower whither Andromache had repaired when she heard that the tide of battle was turned against the Trojans, we see the brave and affectionate Hector hastening to find his wife and child. As he approaches, Andromache meets him, accompanied by her maid, who carries the infant Astyanax. Grasping the hand of the hero, and leaning upon his bosom, she breaks forth in an earnest and pathetic supplication, which is at once the masterpiece of Homer's genius, and the highest expression of woman's love and devotion. She implores him by all that he holds dearest on earth, not to expose, by the rashness of his bravery, the life of a warrior who is not only the hope and safety of Troy, but to her is father and mother, brother and husband, all in one.

There are some who find in these touching words of Andromache only the proofs of a selfish love which was aroused to unwonted strength through dread of the bitter fate which the death of Hector would bring upon her. But there is no trace of such selfishness either in the conduct or the language of Andromache. Pure and disinterested love is ever bound up in the safety and well-being of the loved object. In the very first words which Andromache addresses to Hector, she ex-

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claims, "Thy valor, O son of Priam, will destroy *thee!*" and then, with all a mother's love added to the affection of a devoted wife, she beseeches him to pity her child, who would be consigned by his father's death to a life of unceasing hardships and sufferings. She manifests no violent paroxysms of grief at the thought of her own wretched state in the event of Hector's death. On the contrary, the depth and earnestness of her love not only quicken her perception of the dangers which threaten Hector, but also suggest to her mind a plan for his safety. Pointing to the break in the wall near by the Scæan gate, she beseeches him to remain there, where, as she says, the city is most easy of ascent, and where the bravest of the Greeks have thrice attempted to enter the tower. Her words appeal alike to Hector's affection for his wife and child, and his valor as leader and defence of the Trojans. But when, in his reply, Hector tells her that his duty calls him without the walls to join with the first in the fight, she utters no words of complaint, but, "smiling through her tears," takes her child from his hands and sorrowfully returns to her home.

We see Andromache twice again in the Iliad; first, when the corpse of Hector is dragged before the city by the car of Achilles, and, for the last time, when she mourns over the body in the palace. Her lamentations for the loss of her husband reveal still more of the beauty and tenderness of her character. "*Hector!* O wretched *me!*" she exclaims; and as we listen to her sad words, we feel that her love was indeed that pure and holy affection which unites two souls in perfect unity. She utters no exclamations of wrath against Achilles, who had brought all these miseries upon herself and child; and here, as in all the scenes where she appears, there is nothing to mar the perfect harmony of her character.

In her interview with Hector she exhibits none of that stoicism which Plutarch ascribes to Portia at her parting with Brutus. If, like the Roman matron, Andromache had restrained the expression of her own grief, that she might not shake the fortitude of Hector, her power of severe self-control might, perhaps, have gained our admiration; but the charm which makes her now the loveliest creation in the whole range of ancient poetry would have been destroyed forever.

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In passing from the women of the Iliad to those of the Odyssey, we must keep in view the fundamental distinction between the two poems. "The Iliad is pathetic and simple; the Odyssey, ethic and complex, — a varied picture of life and manners."

This essential difference in the structure of the poems would lead us to expect a corresponding diversity in the characters of each. As Achilles represents the ideal hero of the Homeric age, Ulysses is the embodiment of its intellectual qualities and social excellences. In like manner, we see in Helen and Andromache characters of passion and affection, while Penelope and Nausicaa are more properly described as characters of intellect and imagination.

The name of Penelope has become the synonyme of conjugal devotion and fidelity. In one of the Satires of Horace, where the poet is describing some of the degrading vices which pervaded Roman society, the chastity of Penelope is attributed to the avarice of her suitors. But the Penelope and the Ulysses whom Horace has satirized, are not the Homeric characters that bear these names; and the Roman poet, like some English critics in the case of Helen, has followed the representations of post-Homeric writers.

Among the women of the Iliad and Odyssey, Penelope alone represents the *heroine proper*. Under a weight of misfortunes no less severe than those which fell to the lot of Andromache, Penelope was compelled to act as well as to suffer. Sustaining the twofold relation of queen and mother, she combines all the dignity and authority of the one with the tenderness and affection of the other. At her first appearance, in the commencement of the Odyssey, she is described as the "discreet Penelope," and the "divine one of women." Descending from her chamber, she addresses the bard Phemias, and requests him to sing some other song than the mournful lays of Troy. Telemachus bids her leave such matters to him, and return to her web and distaff. Astonished at his words, she retires from the hall, and, throwing herself upon her couch, "weeps for Ulysses till Minerva sheds sleep upon her eyes."

In the earlier part of the Odyssey, Penelope appears only as the anxious mother, solicitous for the safety of her son, and

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indignant at the unmanly conduct of the suitors. And when, at length, Ulysses, having finished his long and weary wanderings, returns to Ithaca in the guise of a beggar, our interest in the poem is almost wholly transferred from the fortunes of the hero to the conduct of Penelope, whose constancy and devotion are now to be brought to the severest test.

In Shakespeare's Cymbeline, Posthumus, who has staked his ring on the chastity of his wife, sends the very man who had accepted the wager to tempt her virtue. But in the Odyssey, the long-absent husband comes himself in disguise, and, with all the arts and stratagems in which he was so well skilled, subjects the fidelity of Penelope to trial. While thus unconscious of the part which she is acting, the queen and wife displays, in every word and deed, the depth of her love and the strength of her fortitude. In a mere historical narrative, the consistency of Penelope's character would have been preserved had Ulysses returned in his own proper person, and revealed himself at once to his wife. But for the dignity of an epic poem, the plain and matronly qualities of the historical Penelope required the transforming touch of genius; and in Homer's conception of this heroine we find all the virtues of a chaste wife, combined with strength of mind, queenly elegance of manners, and a power of moral endurance, which even a stoic might envy and admire.

To return to the Odyssey. The year which brings Ulysses back to Ithaca is the year in which his son attains his majority. At his departure for the war, the hero had told Penelope to resign the royal sway and marry whomsoever she pleased, as soon as Telemachus should reach manhood's estate. By her ingenious artifice of the web, she had for a time silenced the importunities of the suitors; but when, through the treachery of her servants, this stratagem was made known, Penelope could only avail herself of her authority as queen, and the moral force of her character, to put off the day of her forced marriage. The insolence of the suitors was now becoming daily more insufferable, and even the far-famed hospitality of the house of Ulysses was violated by their harsh treatment of the supposed beggar. Indignant at the injuries thus inflicted on the honor of her family, Penelope descends from her cham-

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ber and addresses the assembled suitors. After expressing in the warmest terms her love for Ulysses, she reproaches the suitors for the unmanly way in which they have wooed her, since, contrary to the usual custom of lovers, they bring no presents to prove the earnestness of their passion. Her conduct throughout the interview is refined and artful, and at the close she retires with her handmaids, who bear the gifts of the suitors. We need not stop to defend Penelope from the charge of hypocrisy and deceit in thus securing presents from the men for whom she entertained such a fixed and settled dislike. She seems to have acted, not from motives of interest, but from a deep sense of honor. For the first time she recognizes these men as the suitors who are to contend for her hand, and she feels that it would be a disgrace for her not to receive from them such presents as custom allowed. Such, at least, is the light in which her conduct was regarded by the disguised Ulysses. Had he been pleased with her behavior on the ground that it was prompted by avarice, he would have proved himself to be unworthy of the name of husband, and only a sordid prostitutor of his wife. In the subsequent interviews with the supposed beggar, she listens with intense interest to his false story of Ulysses' travels. Her tears and exclamations of grief remove the last traces of doubt which might have existed in the mind of her husband concerning the constancy of her love.

The closing scenes of the poem now appear in quick succession. The suitors engage in a contest for the hand of Penelope, and are slain by Ulysses. At the commencement of the contest, Penelope had retired to her chamber, where she is found by the nurse Euryclea, who announced the return of Ulysses. In her excitement she embraces the old nurse, and weeps at very excess of joy. But when she hears of the destruction of the suitors, she cannot believe that any other than a god could have accomplished so miraculous a deed. Euryclea, who is herself perfectly convinced of the identity of her long-absent master, attempts in vain to impart her confidence to Penelope. As they enter the hall where the disguised Ulysses is sitting with averted eyes, Penelope beholds

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nothing in the form or features of the squalid beggar to remind her of the noble prince of Ithaca.

But when at last Ulysses returns from the bath with his divine beauty restored, and by his description of the marriage bed, which he himself had made, convinces the doubting wife that she is not the victim of a cruel deception, she receives her husband with all the affection and tenderness of her noble nature. Her rapture is expressed in no feeble words of welcome, but finds its appropriate utterance in a passionate outburst of regret, that the envious gods had decreed them such a length of woes,

> "And from the flower of life denied the bliss
> To bloom together, fade away, and die."

There have not been wanting critics who condemn the long incredulity of Penelope as unnatural, and a serious blemish to the beauty of a poetic conception. "Ought not the instinct of her love," they ask, "to have inspired her with other sentiments than doubt and distrust, and should not her heart have told her what her eyes could not?" There is but one answer to be made to these objections. Until we are quite sure that we rightly understand the ideal which Homer has sought to embody in the character of Penelope, we have no right to assert that, in the very catastrophe of the Odyssey, he has given a proof of weakness in his method of treating an occasion so favorable for the nicest touches of his art. We find other shining examples of conjugal fidelity in both ancient and modern poetry; but none are placed in the same circumstances as Penelope. Alcestis laid down her life for her husband, and the gods, moved to pity by the depth and fervor of Laodamia's affection, restored the dead Protesilaus to her sight. Imogen, too, the most perfect of Shakespeare's female characters, is a true and faithful wife, whose virtue is subjected to a most cruel test. But it required the strongest, as well as the deepest devotion, to enable Penelope to convince her husband that the love which belonged to him alone could never be shared by another, not even by one who should come disguised in the very form and appearance of Ulysses himself.

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There are others to whom the extreme caution and prudence of Penelope seem justifiable from the circumstances in which she was placed, but who regard her conduct as that of a woman whose affections were in such complete subjection to her intellect, that she seems to lack all the fire and passion of true love. Let us rather say that in Penelope's character there is a perfect sympathy between the mind and affections; and that her conduct exhibits the superiority of neither, but the complete union of both, in that *wise-heartedness* which enabled her to act with the wisdom of a love that not only could endure to the end, but would also bid defiance to any and all attempts at intrigue and deception.

If Homer had given us only the three female characters which have thus far been considered, we should have felt that there was something lacking, both in the poet's power of characterization, and also in the age in which he lived. We should have been ready to exclaim, Were there no women in the days of Homer besides these sad and beauteous Helens, affectionate Andromaches, and faithful Penelopes? Had love and beauty no season of youth in that very spring-time of the race? And in regard to the poet himself, we should have felt that his imagination was limited in its flights, had he not given us the proof of its perfect freedom and exuberance in the exquisitely drawn character of the Phæacian princess Nausicaa.

The description of Ulysses's adventures in Schena is, perhaps, the most pleasing portion of the Odyssey. The object of the poet in introducing this episode was, doubtless, that he might vary the narrative of his hero's wanderings by an amusing satire on the habits of some people, whom he represents under the fictitious name of the Phæacians; but Homer never illustrates the elements of weakness in individuals or classes, without at the same time presenting some of the higher and more attractive qualities of their nature; and hence Nausicaa excites our interest, in the first place, from the contrast which her character exhibits to that of the other Phæacians to whom we are introduced. But further than this, Nausicaa represents to us in the most pleasing form the extreme simplicity of manners which characterized the Homeric age, and which was but

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the chaste setting of a purity of morals that we look for in vain in the later periods of Grecian history.

We are first introduced to Nausicaa in the palace of her father, King Alcinoüs. The time of her marriage was drawing near, and, in a dream, she is informed by Minerva that her "splendid garments which lie neglected" must be taken to the river, and made ready for use. In the morning, waking early, she descends from her chamber, and, obtaining a chariot from her father, sets out, attended by her handmaids, to perform the allotted task. Then follow the washing, the dinner by the river's side, and the nymphish sports with which Nausicaa and her maids beguile their time, while the garments are drying on the shore.

Thus far the poet has given us only a charming description of the freshness and vivacity of maidenly character. But when the shipwrecked Ulysses, in his tent of shrubs, is awakened by the shouts and laughter of the maidens, and suddenly appears in their midst, a quiet vein of humor enters into the narration, and anticipates the pleasant satire on the Phæacians which follows in the succeeding book. In our admiration of Nausicaa's naïve and artless manners, and her discreet and sensible conduct throughout the interview with Ulysses, we cannot help feeling a sense of the ludicrous position in which both are placed. Ulysses at first appears as a wretched suppliant, imploring assistance in his forlorn condition, and soon after is seen following the directions of the maiden as implicitly as a child; while Nausicaa herself, at one moment, prudent and self-possessed, calls back her frightened handmaids; at another, is excited with the warm impulse of ingenuous love, as she gazes admiringly on the handsome prince; and, again, loquaciously describes to Ulysses the habits and occupations of her countrymen.

The speech which Ulysses addresses to Nausicaa, as he emerges from the thicket, is made up of the most agreeable and insinuating flattery, and shows all the tact and wisdom for which the hero was famed. But there is no trace of a mean or unworthy motive in his flattery, and his words only increase Nausicaa's confidence and self-possession. Her reply reveals at once the simplicity of her character and the over-

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flowing kindness of her nature. In the following speech, in which she summons back her timid attendants, we see the dignified manners of a high-born damsel, who has already displayed to her handmaids her superior wisdom and discretion, in not fleeing from the stranger, and who now reveals still more clearly her unsuspecting and ingenuous nature, by assuring her servants that no one could ever injure those who were so dear to the immortals as the Phæacians. In her last address to Ulysses, Nausicaa indulges in a little innocent coquetry, and, modestly putting her compliments into the gossip of some supposed Phæacian, who might meet them as they entered the city, she answers the flattery of Ulysses by describing in glowing terms his manly form and beauty. It is also noticeable that Nausicaa, in these speeches, expresses many general truths regarding the laws of hospitality, and the sacredness of the marriage relation. Indeed, in thus analyzing this beautiful character, we are almost led to pronounce it anything but the extreme of simplicity, combining, as it does, so many and such varied elements. But when we turn from these separate parts of the picture to the picture itself, as sketched by Homer, we shall see that all these various elements unite in a character as simple and clear as the sunlight, which combines all the prismatic colors in forming its rays of perfect whiteness.

Homer's Nausicaa has often been compared to Shakespeare's Miranda, and there are many points of resemblance between the two characters. Both are beautiful creations of poetic fancy, and at the same time appear before us as consistent and natural human beings. Perfect impersonations of gentleness, innocence, and modesty, they are no fairies, no "gay creatures of the element," but real women, living upon the earth with mortal loveliness and grace. Both are entirely ignorant of the conventional laws and customs of society, and there is not the slightest tinge of affectation or prudishness in their characters. Nausicaa, unlike Helen, was not descended from a god; but as we behold her we are forced to exclaim with Ferdinand, as he first gazes upon Miranda,

> "Most sure, the *goddess*
> On whom these airs attend!"

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and we do not wonder that even the wise Ulysses should have been uncertain whether she was a mortal or Diana's self. While perceiving these features of resemblance between the characters of Nausicaa and Miranda, we feel that in many respects each is distinct from the other. The character of Miranda is more fully drawn and more perfectly developed, while Nausicaa is sketched by a few masterly touches, and is more like a picture in outline.

In Miranda, Shakespeare has surpassed all his other creations in that "perfect blending of the purely ideal and purely natural" which this character exhibits; but the genius of Homer is displayed, not only in the simplicity which he has given to Nausicaa, but also in the extreme delicacy with which he has described her appearance in circumstances where the treatment of such a character required the greatest artistic skill, united to the highest purity of mind.

The few remaining female characters of the Iliad and Odyssey are much less conspicuous, and less carefully drawn, than those which we have thus far considered. Indeed, Homer's greater studies — his Helen and Andromache in the Iliad, with Nausicaa and Penelope in the Odyssey — fully illustrate the power of his genius in female characterization, and form a clear and complete picture of the women of the Homeric age. There is a slight modification of this ideal of womanhood in the character of Hecuba, to whom Homer has ascribed something of the weakness and vindictive temper of her nation, combined with the affectionate and matronly qualities of a wife and mother. But in the love of the beautiful Briseïs for Achilles, and her passionate lamentations over the dead body of Patroclus; in the faithful and garrulous old nurse, Euryclea; and in the queenly and benevolent Arete, we see the dim reflection of those varied qualities which shine forth so clearly in Homer's great representative characters of female beauty, love, and devotion.

The social position of woman in the heroic age, as indicated by the female characters of Homer, illustrates at once the extreme simplicity of manners, and the comparative purity of morals, which characterized that early period of Grecian his-

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tory. The crimes of the Homeric age were those of violence, and not of lust. The sensual vices which pervaded both Grecian and Roman society in the later periods of their history, were then almost unknown; and, with scarcely an exception, throughout the Iliad and Odyssey there is not an allusion to scenes or habits which could offend the purest modesty or the most refined and elevated taste. This comparatively pure state of morals must be ascribed almost exclusively to the sanctity of the marriage relation; and it is in the homes of the Grecian warriors and princes that we see displayed the most attractive features of the character of the heroic age.

Marriage was a state rather than an act; and, indeed, we know of no ceremonial connected with the marriage contract, beyond the exchange of gifts and celebration of festivities, such as attended the ratification of leagues of hospitality or alliances between different tribes and nations. But within the marriage relation, woman exercised a greater influence, and was treated with a higher respect, than in any other period of Grecian history. Her employments were the simple duties of the household, with the lighter labors of the vintage and the care of flocks. We perceive a strong resemblance between these Homeric pictures of the occupations of women and the Old Testament narrative of patriarchal life and customs; and there is likewise the same simplicity of manners and language in the domestic life of the Grecian warrior and the Hebrew patriarch.

Those euphemistic expressions, which weaken alike the strength of a nation's language and the purity of its morals, were unknown in the heroic age. Yet there is no grossness in any of the characters of Homer. The scene between Ulysses and Nausicaa, in the Odyssey, was conceived and executed with a purity and delicacy equalled only by the chaste and beautiful description which the sacred writer has given of the courtship of Boaz and Ruth.

It is the crowning glory of Homer's genius that, in his female characters, he has exalted the duties and affections which spring from the family relation. We look in vain in the Iliad and Odyssey for that romance and sentimentalism which form the basis of so much of our modern poetry and fiction, or even for that higher love which consists in the union of youthful

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passion and imagination, and which Shakespeare has embodied in his immortal creations of Juliet and Desdemona. But the love which gives its beauty and sweetness to the "stately flower of perfect *wifehood*," and the undying affection of a mother's heart, — these were the deep sources of inspiration whence Homer derived his pure ideal of woman's home influence.

To trace the decline of this ideal of female character, and of woman's social position and influence, in the later periods of Grecian and Roman history, would involve a full and comprehensive consideration of woman as she appears in the history of the past. Nor is it pertinent to our present subject to consider the influences of *Christianity* in working out the elevation of woman. The purity and spirituality of the Christian religion, as embodied in female character, have found their highest ideal expression in the Beatrice of Dante, "by whose side all previous representations of love and woman appear earthly and sensual." For the actual woman of Christianity we can point, not only to the great names which adorn the pages of literature and brighten the records of philanthropy and reform, but also to the wives and mothers, sisters and daughters, of thousands of homes in Christendom.

Whatever the true "sphere" and "mission" of woman may be, the fact of her influence in elevating and purifying the character of man and the condition of society remains, as the promise and encouragement of the advancement of humanity.

Among the last words of Goethe's Faust we find a prophecy of the future elevation of man in the assurance that

"The *Ever Feminine* draweth us on."

But an older voice than Goethe's has uttered this prophecy; and in the woman of the heroic age, as portrayed by Homer, we see the dim foreshadowing of that lofty type of female character which the spirit of mediæval chivalry and the influence of Christianity have purified, and are raising to a still higher degree of perfection in our modern civilization.

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Art. II. — THE DARK PLACES IN THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

1. *Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence.* By Emanuel Swedenborg. Boston: Otis Clapp. 1840.
2. *God in his Providence.* By Woodbury M. Fernald. Boston: Otis Clapp. 1859.

Swedenborg's treatise on the Divine Providence is probably the most exhaustive work that has ever been written upon the subject. Its teachings are not made to rest merely upon his authority as a seer. It is a clear statement of the laws by which God deals with men; exceedingly concise, yet carrying along the convictions of the reader, because when once described those laws seem to be self-luminous, and preclude the necessity of argument. The character of God as a being of essential benignity is vindicated throughout, and in all the events with which both good men and bad men are engirded are the Divine effort for their salvation, and the tender adaptations of the Divine Love. The treatise, however, is a manual of laws and principles; they are not applied, but given succinctly as purely addressed to the reason.

Mr. Fernald follows Swedenborg, taking the laws of Providence as the latter had unfolded them, and applies them to the diversified experiences of human life. The first portion of his book, however, comprising a little more than one fourth of the whole, is more metaphysical, discusses the nature of the Divine Providence, and tries to reconcile necessity and free will. We do not think the attempt eminently successful; and this will be the least interesting to the popular reader of any portion of the work. But all the other chapters treat of topics of living interest, from the fulness of a living heart. They are compact with thought, crammed with it one might say; but it is thought threaded minutely with the tenderest nerves. It is perfectly evident that these chapters are given to us out of an experience vital and profound, with sensibilities that thrill through it, and sometimes bleed through it, too painfully. For this reason, they will speak with special power and encouragement to a great many souls that have been tost upon the billows. Hardly anything in the range of human experience is left out.

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The Divine Providence in its adaptations to little children, to regeneration, to affliction and sorrow, to earthly riches, to chance and accidents, to the permission of evils, to fluctuations of state and the "winding way," to marriage, to the answer to prayer, to temptation, to the time of one's death, is described with philosophical discrimination and an unction that always soothes and inspires confidence and hope.

Mr. Fernald's style is as clear as the nature and copiousness of his matter will allow. It is always blood-warm, and sometimes fervent, as style becomes when men are deeply in earnest and write with a definite object and a governing purpose of doing good. We think it would be improved by dropping the Swedenborgian nomenclature, and using pure English instead. Swedenborg's style, bating his repetitions, is simple and to the purpose, and well adapted to his matter. But he wrote in Latin, and some of his translators by a baldly literal rendering have undertaken to anglicize the Latin idioms, and by this new cross between the two languages bring a set of phrases into vogue which neither of them would own. They are the more to be shunned, as the correspondent words or phrases purely English have the merit of greater perspicuity as well as grace. The word "conjugial" to our ear is peculiarly detestable, because the upstart usurper, by a gibbering of consonants, undertakes to displace a word perfectly euphonious and sanctified by the dearest affections of the heart. And what is the advantage of the old obsolete "unition," instead of *union?* or of the long-tailed new-comer, "correspondential," over the old occupant, *corresponsive?* Sometimes Mr. Fernald seems to coin new words from sheer carelessness. With these faults, that might easily be avoided, his style is felicitous, always burdened with meaning, and sometimes rises into fervid and solemn eloquence.

The spirit of Mr. Fernald's book seems to us throughout to be eminently Christian. It is humble, tender, childlike, humane. Though the reader feels with almost every page that a living personal experience is here laid bare, there is not the least appearance of egotism, but rather of a heart loyal to great truths and filled with a desire to impart them for the good of others.

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The mighty theme which is here set forth has ever engaged the highest and best efforts of the reason of man. To see all the ways of God vindicated, to believe that there is an interconnection among all events and all worlds, and that they sweep on to some grand and glorious catastrophe, and are held steadily towards it by the Almighty arm, — this is what the heart yearns for and the reason tries to realize. On one very important point Mr. Fernald is at variance with Swedenborg. The hells described by the latter are eternal in duration. According to him, there is no radical change of character after death. If the ruling love is foul and selfish at death, so it will remain forever. Punishments may reduce the demons to external order, but after men have become demons, as all men finally wicked do, there is no possibility of their regeneration. The angels and evil spirits are spiritual antipodes; they stand foot to foot, and so they will remain. The Swedenborgian theology differs from the Calvinistic not in making hell any more tolerable; Dante himself could hardly match the tortures described in the "Arcana," where Swedenborg uncovers the caverns below. It differs only in this, that it makes hell the work of man and an outgoing from him, and so it undertakes to clear the character of God. Men go there from choice, terrible as it is, just as bad men here choose guilty pleasures notwithstanding the unrest and agony which are involved in them. The Lord will mitigate the evils even of hell as much as possible, but they are fixed in his universe, and there is one province of his government always to be desolated and blasted by sin.

Mr. Fernald rejects this doctrine, and believes that evil will come to an end. His views on this subject are somewhat peculiar. He takes Swedenborg's own philosophy, and tries to turn it against his own dogma of endless punishment. Human souls are not creations out of nothing, but life-germs from the Divinity itself. These always remain, and within our voluntary life, within the deepest phenomena of consciousness, there is a life from the Lord himself which man can never reach nor profane. It never comes into his consciousness, and therefore he cannot corrupt it nor destroy it. It remains with the worst man and the lowest demon. With evil men and evil spirits,

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therefore, sin and punishment will do their work, till all the *voluntary* life is broken up and destroyed, and they are reduced to the "soul germs" with which their infant being commenced.

"When once a man has really and persistently taken the downward life that leads to hell, and has passed through the World of Spirits, or intermediate state, and taken up his abode in hell, I see no process of deliverance for the conscious sinner. The law of destruction seems to hold here as in all other departments of nature. It is just like an infected tree; when it has passed beyond a certain point in the progress of decay, there is no salvation for it. It must all run out. So I believe of the sinner in hell. He passes to destruction. Not annihilation of his entire being, for there is still a divine germ, perhaps a human germ, so transcendently high and pure within him, that it cannot be destroyed, though it may never come into consciousness with him as a man. This may remain as the foundation of a new life and existence. Somehow or other, by a process which we cannot here elaborate, but which may form the subject of a future treatise, this inmost germ of undying good may find its ultimation again in the natural life. It is no more unreasonable to think it can, than that it found a beginning *at first* in the natural life. It may grow up into a new man, — into an angel." — pp. 44, 45.

This is hardly less than annihilation, except in name. All the life that a man has ever been *conscious* of is to be destroyed, and therefore no memory of the past is to survive. From the Divine ground of being within us a new consciousness may be opened, a new probation given, and a new voluntary life may flower forth. The continuity of being must therefore be broken up, and the personal identity of the sinner will be lost. And through what sufferings and agonies must this process conduct him! To break up and destroy all his voluntary life by passing him through hell is not reformation, but crushing him out under the wheels of revolution.

On this vexed and difficult question there is a position, it seems to us, which the believer's mind may take with entire trust and sufficing peace. The Scriptures speak of eternal life and eternal punishment or death, setting one over against the other. But the Greek word rendered by the English adjective *eternal* does not express the idea of infinite duration, as every scholar knows. Neither αἰών, nor any of its derivatives, means endless time. It means *a dispensation or economy*

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complete in itself, and the duration is determined by the nature of the economy. Judaism was such an economy; Christianity is another. Its grand issues in the state of retribution constitute another. The words *eternal life* do not refer to duration in time at all. The life of the animal might be extended through an infinite series, but that would not make it eternal, in the Scripture sense of that word. The phrase *eternal life* describes another kind or quality of life; it does not refer to duration in time, long or short, but takes us out of time altogether. Man belongs to two dispensations here. One is temporal, and connects him with earthly things; the other is immortal, reaches inward, and takes hold on eternity. He is therefore subject to two kinds of calamity. One is external: the loss of friends or property, disease, pain, dissolution. These only touch the surface of the man. The other is spiritual: it wounds his immortal nature and deforms it. So again he has two kinds of happiness. One is temporal, and therefore subject to the surface changes of time and space; the other belongs to that nature which is out of time and space, that leans inward upon God, and receives from him the life that flows through it like a river of peace, and is the same through all the fluctuations of temporal things. It is eternal, for it percolates from its eternal fountains in the bosom of God. It is the life of God in the soul. It is described as a present possession. "He that believeth on the Son *hath* everlasting life."

Eternal life and eternal punishment, therefore, are life and death on a higher plane of being, within the spiritual degrees of man's mind, and as the subject of a spiritual dispensation. These time-surfaces will roll away and drop in flakes beneath us, like leaves shaken down by the trees of autumn, and still man lives and dies, — lives the eternal life in God, or dies the eternal death away from God and the glory of his power. These solemn alternatives describe the issues of our present probation and the grand results which will appear when time and space with us shall be no longer, and we are the subjects of that higher economy that lies proximate to the scenes of earth. What other dispensations may lie beyond the one which we shall enter at death, away in the bosom of eternity,

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the Lord has never revealed. We do not suppose the highest angel sees down the avenues of that interminable future. In the very nature of things he cannot, and ought not to desire it. Only the Infinite Mind can see the infinite to come, for one is wrapped up in the other. The infinite future is the Infinite Creative Energy undeveloped, and therefore contained only within the Infinite Consciousness. That the sinner is to gyrate down those awful eternities preserved in the fires of God's revenge, what man, out of his puny intelligence, shall dare affirm? All our present life, and all that is revealed to us of the hereafter, summed up together, compared with those never-ending cycles, are only as a single leaf that flutters in the foliage of boundless woods. That such caverns of pent-up sin and agony as Swedenborg describes are to flare down those endless ages, and streak them with trails of blood, forever parallel with the life of God and his angels, could not be established by the dictum of any finite intelligence. Nor do we suppose he intended an affirmation so huge and unqualified as this.

Equally unwarranted, we think, is anybody's affirmation that all lost spirits are to become angels of light. As if that were the only alternative that vindicates the Divine Providence and government! The Divine Energies are always exerted to mitigate evil and temper it with good. They will always be exerted to mitigate the hells that men make. This Swedenborg himself affirms. To suppose that he will confer and perpetuate existence, in any case, which is not a blessing to him who receives it, would be to impeach his benevolence. That his power and goodness will flow down all the ranks of being, so as to make being desirable, must therefore be true. That he will or can so completely *reverse* the voluntary life of lost souls as to make them an angelic order of intelligences, he has never told us, and we see no postulates from which to argue it. There may be forever orders of being and ranks of enjoyment based on the right use or the abuse of privilege. To be saved from hell is not *therefore* to be raised up into heaven, but it may be to be led into that class of enjoyments only for which we have been prepared by that degree of our immortal natures which we have opened for ourselves.

It was only about two thousand years ago that the realities

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of a future life were clearly opened to the apprehension of man. Neither Jew nor Gentile at Christ's appearing, except by dim and bewildering intuitions, had the Divine certitude that he should live at all after death. The reason was, that they were immersed in sense; and if immortality had been unveiled to them, they would have naturalized the great truth and profaned it. Therefore the Jewish Church was governed mainly by temporal laws and penalties. When Christianity came, it lifted up the curtain, and showed us the solemn porches of eternity, and the abodes right and left into which they lead. Why did it not go farther, and show the endless landscapes beyond? For two reasons: man's vision could not take them in, and it would not benefit him if he could. Suppose it true, that somewhere in the eternal cycles all who have entered those solemn porches will become angels. Is it not easy to see, that, even if such were the truth, it is a truth which the world, as it now is, would pervert and abuse, — that bad men would fix the eye only on the consummation, though myriads of ages remote, and lose sight of the path that must lead them thither? Would not the revelation of it tend to remove the consummation farther off? Man, sinful as he is, would not be the keeper of such a truth without making it pander to his lusts. If it be a truth, therefore, we have no reason to suppose that God will give it to him by throwing it down upon him externally, but only as a redeemed and renovating humanity opens inward and upward, and rises to meet it out of the descending heavens. Let it not be said, in reply to this, that a great many Christians believe in such a consummation, and are made better by their belief. They hold it as a matter of private induction, or as the uncertain result of a balancing of texts or a labored exegesis. It is one thing to reach it thus, which only a few minds will do, and those of a certain class and temperament; quite another thing to have it given as a truth, with Divine authentications, to the human race.

There is another province under the Divine government from which the light of a beneficent Providence seems at first to be altogether excluded. We refer to what are commonly called *accidents*, and which seem to come under no law, human

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or Divine. We mean here those calamities which are the result of no human imprudence, — none at least which the victims themselves could foresee or prevent. In the most orderly ongoings of human affairs, some destruction rushes in from without, and spreads ruin and death in its way. While we are writing these words, ten thousand hearts are breaking and bleeding in homes made desolate and solitary through recent or not very remote occurrences, for which people say nobody is to blame. We think little about it when the evil is slight and the suffering is transitory; but when it is wide-spread and gigantic, and towers up in its blackness, it seems to shut out the light of heaven from this world. There is more secret scepticism and misgiving, probably, touching the doctrine of a Universal Providence from this cause than from all others, — a Providence that takes up all particulars within it, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and guides the sparrow's fall. Men die in the course of nature, and we bow in submission, and say, This is orderly, this is beautiful, — it is the grand procession of the generations. But when the ship is sailing through tranquil seas, and suddenly crushed, and hundreds of human beings are plunged into the jaws of death, — or when the house is wrapped in conflagration, and parents and innocent babes together are caught by its serpent tongues and devoured alive, — this is not orderly, and it would seem that Providence had withdrawn and let the demons into his realm. Indeed, this is precisely Mr. Fernald's philosophy of the matter. He thinks that all disorders and calamities of this kind come mediately through man's disordered or inverted nature, whereby the demons find an open way into his affairs, and turn the world upside down, — that hot-headed haste, ambition, vanity, avarice, selfishness, are states of mind that let them in or draw their sphere about us, and give them their destructive sweep over human life, even when we think all the physical conditions have been observed. He reads us an excellent lesson touching the prevention of accidents, by always preserving a state of mind trustful, prayerful, and serene, open to impressions and intimations from the good angels which we thus bring near to us, to lead us in the way of safety, or turn us by unseen and gentle tractations from under some impending disaster. We

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admit and admire the reasonableness and the beauty of this philosophy, and we have not a doubt that calamities which we are accustomed to call strictly providential have a much more intimate relation to man's interior and cherished evils than we are apt to suppose.

But this does not by any means explain the whole, nor show the place of this class of events in the education of the individual and the race. They come to the innocent as well as the guilty, and draw them down together into the terrible maelstrom. And no events within the realm of nature have tended so much to rouse the energy, to develop the skill, and sharpen the wit of man. In what consist his elevation here, and the setting free of his nobler powers? Very much in this, — that he free himself from the bondage of matter, so that instead of its slave he become its lord and master. All accidents, so called, not traceable to man's recklessness or evil state, are the result of his ignorance and unskilfulness; in other words, they take place because his conquest over nature is not complete. His struggle through life is a struggle with nature, and every victory he makes is so much more of human energy, wisdom, and forecast secured and realized. If every one were led solely by spiritual impressions, and thus drawn away from impending dangers, we might all be safe from physical harm, but the race would have been kept forever in its infancy. The animals are born into the instinctive knowledge of the natural laws they are to observe; and bird and insect, "blithe to salute the sunny smile of morn," or to provide against the destructive ravages of the winter's cold, sometimes evince a forecast more keen and unerring than that of the loftiest reason. But it is the Divine forecast, — not that of the animal, — received instinctively, and not rationally, and therefore capable of no improvement or diminution. The Lord teaches us, in his Providence over man, that he regards physical comfort and physical life as nothing in comparison with mental and moral enlargement and victory. Innumerable lives have gone down under this great principle of the Divine government, that mind is more than matter; that the outward life is less than intellectual and spiritual conquest, and may be surrendered to raise man above the thraldom of nature. This

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may not be a sufficient consolation when the accident comes to me, but none the less it places it under an all-beneficent principle, and makes me adore with a new fervor that Providence which treats us as human, and not as animals; which never suspends its laws because man has not found them out; which leads him, yea, drives and goads and lacerates him, on to the discovery, till all his faculties wake up and come into play; which treats us, not as a nurse treats a sick babe, but as a being who regards supremely the manhood of his children. Such are accidents in the education of man, and nothing external to him has done so much to call out his loftier and hardier virtues. They have sharpened and burnished his reason to a most astonishing keenness, until the forces which at first whirled him to the earth, or shattered in pieces his weak and trembling frame, are yoked and subdued beneath him, or go obsequious upon his errands; they grind like Samson in his mills, they row his ships over the waters, they run harmless along his conductors, they carry his messages around the globe, instead of crushing him into the dust. True enough, the spur of accident has not done all this, but it has done much. The mal-adjustment of nature to his sensitive and perishing body, sticking into him the sharp irons of physical necessity to torture and rend him, has set free all his wit, power, and resource, and will continue to do so, until, from being the slave or the victim of matter, he rules it throughout, and holds it to his behests, and is completely self-poised above it.

"The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only they, but we ourselves also, who have the first-fruits of the spirit, groan within ourselves, waiting for the redemption of our body." A most admirable description of man struggling in the bondage of his surroundings! It is man in his infancy and childhood groaning for deliverance. It is the condition of all except the inventive races, and they have emerged from it only as the soul has asserted its supremacy over its outward condition through its education under the Divine Providence. We by no means intimate that Divine power from within — humanitary regeneration — has not been first in importance; but we say also,

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that this would not accomplish the result, unless met by incitements from without, — the sharpest of which are what we call casualties, — and that these cause him to emerge from his thraldom, till he holds the earth under his sway, and we have the adoption, to wit, "the redemption of our body." Thus admirably fitted into the scheme of Providence is this whole class of events, which seem at first to stand out by themselves like mountains of blackness; for, seen from a higher position, they reflect the softer hues of the Eternal Mercy.

Our timid senses are very apt to delude and impose upon us in respect to the methods and circumstances through which people make their transit from this world to another. While the waves are closing over the one hundred people who went down in the steam vessel, ten thousand more are making their exit from sick-rooms, where the strings of life have been slowly sawed asunder by torturing and grating diseases, till the worn and haggard sufferers sigh for the refuge of the grave. These die slowly and painfully; those, with hardly any pain at all, perhaps rise into another life without knowing they have ever died. Their case will be announced as a heart-rending disaster; many of the other cases will be announced as heavenly triumphs over the king of terrors. The concomitants of dissolution are of less importance than we generally make them, except to our own frightened imaginations, for the nearer death comes to us, the more does he bathe the senses in Lethe more perfect than the anæsthetics of human discovery; and while on the side of mortality we see only the ship lifting its murderous blaze into the midnight sky, and then plunging to be quenched in the awful caverns below, this world with its horrors and glories alike is fading out or has disappeared entirely from the sufferers, and "the morning gate" is wide open on the other side, through which lie the gardens of Paradise in green and tranquil repose. This is true, we doubt not, in innumerable instances of death by sudden disasters, when, by the suddenness itself, sensation is annihilated, and immortality dawns without the consciousness of dissolution.

Closely related to this subject of casualties is that of the time of one's death. This, Mr. Fernald argues, never can occur sooner than it ought. There is a time for every one to die,

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and the best moment is always fixed in the plan of Providence. None can pass over it or come short of it. It is not fixed by a blind fate or arbitrary decree; it has reference to one's spiritual state and prospects, and his fortunes in another life. The Divine effort with every man is to save him, to bring him to heaven if possible; and if not, to keep him from a lower hell. For this his life-plan is arranged, and it will not terminate here till it has done the best for him that it can do in accordance with his own free will. Up to that point death cannot touch him, and he leads a charmed life where its arrows fly. "I had seventeen fair fires at Washington," said the Indian warrior, "but could not bring him to the ground." In this case the guarding and guiding Providence comes a little more openly into light, but God is no respecter of persons; the humblest man as well as the greatest fulfils the mission assigned to him, and there can be no such thing as an untimely death within the dominions of God. The line which separates this doctrine from fatalism is rather delicate, but that the doctrine is true, nevertheless, must be fully admitted, unless we suppose the good Lord has left to mere hazard an event in man's history on which hinge momentous and amazing consequences. And the doctrine is well adapted to give us heart-strength and confidence, and enable us to possess our souls in patience in some of those great battles of life which we may not shrink from without a sacrifice of our manhood, and treason against the eternal law.

These are themes of inexhaustible interest, and every successful effort to illustrate them flings a new glory upon our daily paths. The "sufferings of this present time" are utterly insignificant, if their meaning and end are once apprehended, and the issues of which they are capable are openly seen. Human nature broken down under its fardels will rise and rejoice again as the unity of the Divine plan is more perfectly revealed. It is not the amount of pain we suffer that bears us down and conquers us: it is the quality rather, — it is when our environment seems forsaken of the Divinity, that it lies against us hard and cold. Let Him come into it and light it up with the rays of mercy, and, though it pierce us to the heart, we shall die

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singing, as the old heroes died under the eyes of friend and lover for whom they fought. Doubtless we shall never be led consciously and openly by the Divine Providence, for then we should not be free; but if we seek its guidance and follow it in simple trust, we shall see all the past down even to the humblest things, — tree, leaf, insect, stream, landscape, and cottage-windows clothed in its celestial blaze.

Art. III. — THE STUDY OF NATURE.

1. *Views of Nature, or Contemplations on the Sublime Phenomena of Nature. With Scientific Illustrations.* By Alexander von Humboldt. Translated from the German by E. C. Otté and Henry G. Bohn. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1850.
2. *Lessons for Mankind from the Life and Death of Humboldt. A Discourse delivered in the Bulfinch Street Church, June 5, 1859.* By W. R. Alger. Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow, & Co.

The life of man is a perpetual struggle with external Nature. Her spontaneous and unelaborated products yield him neither sufficient nor appropriate food, nor clothing, nor shelter; and all her influences, if untamed and unresisted, are hostile to his full development and perfect growth, to his physical enjoyments and his higher aspirations, and even to his temporal existence. While obedience to her dictates is the law of all lower tribes of animated being, it is by rebellion against her commands and the final subjugation of her forces alone that man can achieve the nobler ends of his creation. His first conscious voluntary effort is to protect himself against her adverse influences, and the whole premeditated action of the primitive untutored son of Adam is absorbed in appropriating from her scattered stores the raw material which his rude art may convert into the means of sheltering himself from her rigors, and of prolonging an animal existence so low and so barren, that nothing but the instinctive fear of death gives it value. Thus far, the warfare on his part is of a defensive character; but as social life advances, as his relations are

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multiplied and ramified, the necessities of his position are felt to demand enlarged and varied means of action; he becomes conscious that he is the rightful lord, and Nature the lawful, though unwilling slave; he assumes an aggressive attitude, and thenceforward strives to subdue to his control, and subject to his uses, all her productive and all her motive powers.

His earliest leisure and opportunity for higher pursuits and more refined enjoyments, for the cultivation and exercise of all those powers and faculties that distinguish the human from the brute creation, are won by the subjugation of the inferior animals and the inanimate world, — by compelling unreasoning muscle and unconscious nature to perform those tasks that had otherwise employed and monopolized his entire physical energies; and the extent of his victories over Nature is a measure not only of his civilization, but of his progress in the highest walks of moral and intellectual life.

When a great philosopher characterized man as "Naturæ minister et interpres," he did wrong to his high vocation. True, he can but interpret, not amend, her laws; but when he sinks to be her minister, to make those laws the rule of his life, to mould his action to her bidding, he descends from the sphere of true humanity, abdicates the sceptre and the purple with which the God of nature has invested him, and becomes a grovelling sensualist or a debased idolater. Wherever he fails to make himself her master, he can but be her slave. In this warfare there is no drawn battle. Within, the sensuous or the intellectual must triumph; without, intelligent energy or the brute forces must prevail. In fact, this struggle and this victory constitute so necessary a condition of all other great human achievement, that man rises higher in proportion to the magnitude of the physical inconveniences and wants he successfully combats and finally vanquishes. Humanity has exhibited her loftiest examples of heroism, and wisdom, and virtue, and great exploit, on those soils and in those climates where the earth, with the latent capacity of giving the most, does yet spontaneously yield the least.

Under such circumstances it is that all our powers enjoy their highest stimulus, — the necessity of exerting every energy to secure the means of sustaining even animal life, combined

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with the certainty that the same efforts, wisely directed and perseveringly continued, will result in crowning our toils with the enjoyment of every good thing that Providence has anywhere placed within the reach of our species.

Universal tradition has planted our ancestral cradle on the highlands of that continent where all the cereal grains, all the textile vegetables, all the important fruits, all the domestic animals, in short, all the regular sources of supply of food and clothing, known to the Old World, appear to have originated; and this under skies so tempered, and on soils so constituted, that the infant life of our race was made up of lessons of industry, patience, self-denial, and self-reliance, which are necessary ingredients of all power and human virtue. The tribes which trace their origin most directly to the primitive stock, and which, in their subsequent migrations, have peopled regions marked by analogous physical conditions, have inherited the largest share of those fundamental excellences, and, if not the earliest in attaining a seeming and specious culture, have extended farthest the realm of human action, of human virtue, and of human thought.

On the other hand, where man is the spoiled child of what are called "more favored climes," where no rude winter stimulates the constructive power to the contrivance and erection of permanent and secure dwellings, where fairest flower and savory fruit and nutritious bulb reward the slightest effort with rich profusion, and an hour of toil insures a week of careless sensual enjoyment, — there man, even of the noblest race, falls almost to an equality with the brute, and remains at that low level, until, as in some tropical regions, increasing numbers, and a consequently inadequate supply for the material wants of life, once more rouse his latent energies, and compel him to assert his right to be regarded as the master, not the parasitic guest, at the table of Nature.

The study of Nature's laws, therefore, a knowledge of her products and her powers, an independence of her influences, a control over her action, is an indispensable means of the first attainment and subsequent extension of high civilization and social improvement, of every form, — in short, of general human progress, as well as of individual culture; and hence this

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study becomes one of the most obligatory duties, as well as the most imperious necessities, of our condition.

It is a marked and most important distinction between the relations of savage and of civilized man to nature, that, while the one is formed and wrought upon in mental as well as in physical characteristics by the peculiarities of his birthplace and other external natural causes, the other is more or less independent of their action, and his development is accordingly, in a corresponding degree, original and self-determined. Hence in proportion to man's advance in natural knowledge, and his consequent superiority over outward physical forces, is his emancipation from the influence of climatic and other local causes, and the more clearly does he manifest those attributes of his proper humanity which vindicate his claim to be called a being, not a thing, — a special creation living indeed *in* Nature, but not a product of her unconscious action, or wholly subject to her inflexible laws.

When, by human art, the temperate and the torrid zones are made to yield substantially the same products, and supply the same material necessities of life; or when their inhabitants are familiarized with and brought to the use and enjoyment of each other's peculiar advantages, by more rapid and economical means of transport, — when the mountains are pierced with roads and canals, the plains intersected with iron ways, — when island and continent, and opposite shores of broad rivers and broader seas, are virtually joined by swift and sure conveyances; — then local peculiarities and local interests give place to universal and truly human sympathies: men are set free from mere material influences, and, stripped of their national characteristics and their clannish prejudices, the horizon of their philanthropy is widened, they become cosmopolite in sentiment, and feel, emphatically, that the human family has a common interest, and tends to a commmon destiny.

Wherever such physical improvements as we have here noticed have reached, we find at least the educated and more favored classes alike in manners, in fundamental moral principle, in general intellectual attainment, in their views of the true aims and possible progress of civil society; and the superficial observer, disappointed at meeting the refinements of

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Europe in an Asiatic saloon, makes this apparent uniformity a cause of complaint against modern civilization, which, as he conceives, has reduced social man everywhere to one dead level of tame and unpicturesque mediocrity. But this is a wholly mistaken view of the actual moral and intellectual condition of civilized humanity. Man, no longer cramped by special and local restraints, no longer moulded by circumscribed and narrow influences, no longer trained to the exclusive imitation of national models, is in fact more freely developed, and, under whatever resemblances of outward form, is more distinctly individualized, than at that not remote period when every nation had its known and recognizable type, in which all individuality was lost. In our time, the local varieties are disappearing, as the general improvement of the race advances; and while men are specifically more alike, they are individually more distinct, more consciously independent and spontaneous in character and action.

These great moral and social changes are no doubt in large proportion to be ascribed to the extended and successful prosecution of the studies we are advocating; but these studies appeal also with irresistible force to those refined sensibilities which constitute the æsthetical part of our nature, and the man of cultivated taste finds them an indispensable auxiliary in the intelligent enjoyment of the visible world around him.

This, indeed, is not the current opinion of hasty inquirers. We are popularly told, that not only has the progress of physical knowledge promoted a materialistic and sensuous philosophy, but that it has tamed the imagination of the bard, vulgarized the phenomena of nature, and dispelled the poetry of common life. We are referred to the Greeks, as a people philosophic, intellectual, and refined to a degree surpassing all that modern civilization has produced, profoundly wise in all immaterial knowledge save that which the Revelation that was denied to them alone can teach, supereminently skilful in every branch of creative and of imitative art, and yet acquainted with only the most obvious physical facts, and with none but false and puerile theories whereby to explain the *rationale* of them. But this is, to some extent, a mistaken assumption. The difference between the physical knowledge possessed by

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the Greeks, as well as by some other ancient nations, and that which the moderns have accumulated, consists partly in its form and direction, not altogether in its amount. The laws of statics, for example, though doubtless differently conceived and enunciated, were as well known to the Greeks as to ourselves, and their works show as familiar an acquaintance with nature *in equilibrio* as the most substantial of modern erections. The permanence and stability of their great structures suppose a careful study and a long observation of the laws applicable to bodies at rest, and the curves of the Parthenon imply, not only the employment of a subtile and refined geometry, but a hitherto unsuspected knowledge of the principles of optics. Their most eminent metaphysicians attached high value to every then known branch of the science of number and magnitude, and their philosophy embraced physics in the most extended sense of the term. Learned artistic criticism has shown that the progress of their formative art was dependent upon the advancement of their science, and that their highest excellence in sculpture was not attained until they had reached an elevated point in pure mathematics.

But we must here observe what has not been usually sufficiently considered, that the intellectual conceptions, the moral sensibilities, and the poetic imagery of the Greeks, were narrowed and abridged precisely in the direction where their natural knowledge was most imperfect. With dynamics, the laws of force and motion, they had but a very limited acquaintance. They were ignorant of all the greatest facts and the most comprehensive laws of nature; and, though profound in geometry, they can hardly be said to have possessed an arithmetic. A people, however intellectually gifted, but unenlightened by a revealed and spiritualized religion; unacquainted with the vast periods of improved astronomy and cosmogony; without a knowledge of the magnitudes, the distances, the movements, or the velocities of the heavenly bodies, the speed of electricity or light, or even of modern military projectiles; with a numerical system totally unsuited to dealing with great quantities; with a geography that did not extend beyond the temperate zone, and in longitude embraced but a fourth part of the earth's circumference; and with a history whose earliest prob-

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able traditions scarcely went back ten centuries, — such a people could elevate itself to none of the grand conceptions which give such dignity and such sublimity to the science of the stars, and even to the special physical history of our own planet; to none of the lofty imagery with which not our poetry alone, but our daily life, is ennobled; to none of those wide views of cosmopolite philanthropy which make this great globe a theatre for the exercise of a universal charity.

To us, accustomed from infancy to an arithmetical notation that enables the eye to seize at a glance the expression of the vastest quantities, and to combine, multiply, and divide those quantities with magical celerity, — familiar with periods extending through myriads of centuries, with distances measured by millions of the earth's diameters, with magnitudes to which our globe is but a vanishing point, with material velocities that ten thousand times surpass the swiftest old poetic notions of the rapidity even of divine motion, with the countless legions of animated existences which the marvellous revelations of the microscope have made known to us, with the terrors of the polar iceberg and the gorgeous luxuriance of tropical vegetation, — to us, thus instructed, it is difficult to imagine an intellect highly cultivated, but yet without the sublime conceptions of extended space, of prolonged duration, of rapid motion, of multiplied numbers, and of earthly grandeur and beauty and power, which modern science has made as it were a part of our mental constitution. But it is certain that these great ideas had no place in the mind of the imaginative Greek. His views of the sensible creation were as humble and as narrow as his theories of the character and attributes of the Divinity. His habitable earth was of less extent than the dominions of a modern Muscovite Czar, his language had no name for any collective number greater than ten thousand, the steeds that wheeled the chariot of the Homeric Jove moved but by leaps that human sight could measure, and his heavens themselves rested on terrestrial pinnacles. The necessarily circumscribed character of his material conceptions could not fail to react on his moral and intellectual nature; and not only the absence of sublime imagery in his poetry, but his want of an enlarged philanthropy, of a humane and enlightened policy in his for-

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eign relations, and of elevated views of the temporal and eternal destiny of man, was, to some extent, the natural consequence of his limited notions of time and space, and number and motion. To the polished Athenian, as to the modern Chinese, every man of a foreign speech was a barbarian and an outlaw, and he conceded even to the alien Greek none of the rights of our common humanity, except as from time to time a temporary and shifting community of interest made it expedient to recognize them.*

We can by no means admit, that a familiarity with the truly expounded laws of nature has any tendency to clothe sensuous things in a humbler garb, or to render more prosaic the current of human life. Wherever modern Science has exploded a superstitious fable or a picturesque error, she has replaced it with a grander and even more poetical truth. In the whole range of those mythologies which are built on the apotheosis of mortal heroes, or the deification of the powers of spontaneous nature, in the cosmogonies of the ancient bards, in the warfare of the Gods and the Titans, we find no such theme for ode or anthem as the recent history of scientific research and triumph supplies in abundant profusion. Which is fitter to be celebrated in immortal song, the fiction of a Jupiter launching the forked lightning to avenge a slight offered to a favored mortal, or the true story of the sage philosopher, who, by the aid of a child's toy, forged fetters to chain the thunderbolt? What imagery could be drawn from nature, as known to the ancient world, so grand as that one among the thousand revelations of our astronomy, which tells us that the sun himself, the inexhaustible source of heat and light and life, neither warms nor illuminates nor enlivens the ether-sea in which he floats; but that all created space, save the atmospheric environment of the puny spheres that circle through it, is shrouded in eternal frost, eternal darkness, eternal death? What conception had Aristotle or Plato so lofty as that sublime speculation founded on

* It was only after conquest and annexation had extended the empire of Rome from the Atlantic to the Ægean, that a Latin dramatist uttered the well-known sentiment, "Homo sum," &c.; and the applause with which the sentiment was received seems to have been paid quite as much to its originality, as to its moral beauty and importance.

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modern knowledge of the vastness of created space and the progressive motion of light, which tells us that there are, far within the limits of our own feeble vision, points to which the rays reflected from the scenes of man's earliest labors have not yet reached, so that, with sharpened sight and indefinite power of motion, beings with faculties analogous to ours might choose at pleasure stations from which they could follow, with bodily organs, the lost history of our globe, and even now witness the rearing of the pyramids, the founding of the walls of Rome, the battles of an Alexander, the triumphs of a Cæsar, or the inauguration of a Washington! Or how could those philosophers rise to the comprehension of the tremendous truth, pregnant with such vast physical and moral significance, that there exists, not alone in the human conscience or in the omniscience of the Creator, but in external material nature, an ineffaceable, imperishable record, possibly legible even to created intelligences, of every act done, every word uttered, nay, of every wish and purpose and thought conceived by mortal man, from the birth of our first parent to the final extinction of our race; so that the physical traces of our most secret sins shall last until time shall be merged in that eternity of which not science, but religion alone, assumes to take cognizance! *

To take a more familiar instance: Which is æsthetically finer, more poetical even, the fable of Æolus and his obedient blasts, or that theory which teaches the origin, the course, the fixed gyrations, and the stable laws of the fickle winds? To the ancient heathen, the tempest and the breeze spoke of nothing but some petty vengeance or some partial favor of a vulgar demon. The modern schoolboy has been taught to find their general origin in the disturbance of the equilibrium of the equatorial atmosphere by the rays of a vertical sun. He sees the heated and rarefied columns of air rushing upward in those fervid regions, charged with the vapors of Amazon and Orinoco, or the light sand-clouds of the Lybian and Arabian deserts, bearing on their wings the minuter insects and the germs of vegetable life, and perfumed with the odors of a tropical flora. He watches them as they now, condensed by the cold of a lofty ele-

* See Babbage's Ninth Bridgewater Treatise, Chap. IX.

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vation, pour themselves out over the lower strata of the atmosphere, and, urged forward by new ascending masses, roll across the temperate, and sink down in the frigid zone. Meantime, the vacuum created by their ascent has been filled by the expansion and progression of the adjacent columns, and thus new masses are set in motion by an action extending itself constantly farther and farther through the torpid and heavy atmosphere that surrounds the pole, until the columns first disturbed reach that ultimate goal, begin their retrograde march, and sweep along the surface of the earth with accelerated velocity to their original starting-point, there again to renew the same never-ending circuit. With the theory of this grand and simple movement, our pupil connects the variations of the atmospheric current occasioned by the revolution of the earth, the change of seasons, the tidal action of sun and moon, the alternations of day and night, the inequalities of the earth's surface, and the disturbances produced by the influence of electricity and a thousand other yet obscurer causes; finds order and regularity and law in the action even of the winds, the familiar symbol of capricious change; and comprehends the beneficent results of this ceaseless motion in the distribution of the early and the latter rain, in compensating and equalizing the extremes of temperature, and in dispelling irrespirable gases and noxious miasmata, which else would lower over the face of the globe, and render its surface no longer habitable by man. To the meteorologist, therefore, the dumb and viewless breeze suggests images, now of tropical luxuriance, and now of polar desolation; speaks in turn of the palm-tree and the iceberg, of equatorial days shared equally by darkness and by light, and of climes where the entire year knows but one summer day and one winter night; brings alternate tokens from zones of sweltering heat, and lands congealed by perpetual frost, — from kingdoms enlivened by every voice and swarming with every form of organic life, and from realms of silence, loneliness, and death.

In fact, the observation and knowledge of nature has vastly increased the wealth of imagery at the command of the poet, and opened to him an inexhaustible mine of the noblest illustration, in veins quite unknown to the ancient world. Verse is fast ridding itself of the flat conventionalities drawn from

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old mythologies and erroneous or symbolically expressed physical theories, and which, though once instinct with life, and even truth as seen from the point whence they were originally contemplated, have long ceased to have any significance or force for us, and are, if not unsightly excrescences, little better than expletives, in modern poetry. In all references to natural objects and natural processes, poetry now gives us living images in place of stereotyped and hollow phrases. The descriptive sketches of Wordsworth, or Bryant, or Robert Browning, or Tennyson, without parade of physical science or use of technical nomenclature, make us feel in every line that here indeed man is the interpreter of nature.

With a system of physics which was scarcely able to refer any one natural effect to its true cause, and which can hardly be said to give the actual theory of a single material phenomenon, it could not be expected that literary or pictorial genius should find much matter for truthful illustration in the works of inanimate nature; and accordingly it is living, self-conscious being alone that appears with its appropriate local color in the imaginative or the imitative art of ancient Greece and Rome.

In the history of modern art, we find that no acuteness of unscientific observation could teach the painter truly to represent the most familiar natural object before him. Scientific analysis has always preceded successful imitation. The study of optics forces itself upon the painter, as essential to the practice of perspective, both linear and aerial, and the relations of different planes, the more general effects of direct and reflected light and of shade, were understood so early, that Fra Bartolomeo and Leonardo da Vinci and Beccafumi and Dürer, who are all historically known to have carefully investigated the theory of these laws, attained as great excellence in foreshortening, and all that belongs to depth and distance, as the ablest of their successors.

The popularization and general diffusion of science, of which Humboldt was the great apostle, has been of infinite service to the cause of art, because it has brought exact knowledge of at least the external forms and characteristics of visible objects within the reach of a large class of observers, to whom that

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knowledge would otherwise have been unattainable; and, at the same time, it has greatly promoted the advancement of true science itself, because, by obliging its expounders to clothe it in more attractive forms, and give it, so to speak, a more picturesque aspect, it has secured the devotion of a far more numerous host of votaries. We cannot here omit to perform an act of justice to this greatest of the priesthood of nature, by repelling the guarded insinuations which have ascribed his catholic and generous views of science to the want of a more rigorous mathematical training. The real difficulty in the minds of his timid detractors is not the defect, but the excess, of his knowledge. A learning which embraced the whole past history and present phase of every branch of physical research, and which was moreover graced with the elegances of all literature and dignified with the comprehensive wisdom of all philosophy, cannot but be a reproach to narrower natures, which see and appreciate truth, not in the mutual interdependence of apparently unrelated knowledges, but only in the naked proportions of number and magnitude.

The special labors of Humboldt are most familiar and conspicuous in the new form which he has given to the study of geography. As taught by him and his school, it is no longer a fortuitous assemblage of independent facts and quantities, but its dry details have assumed an organic form and a human interest, and it has become at once a poetry and a philosophy.

In the genial influence of Humboldt and other kindred spirits, we find the clearest exemplification of the connection between the progress of science and that of the fine arts, and especially of that new branch of imitation which owes its present character, if not its specific existence, to an increasing acquaintance and sympathy with nature, the art of landscape-painting.

With rare exceptions, like that of the younger Pliny and some few others, the ancients, in spite of their high æsthetical culture, were, in general, much more insensible than the moderns to the charms of nature. The love of landscape and rural beauty has been increased much in proportion to

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our familiarity with the different branches of natural knowledge, whose objects are embraced in every extended view of the earth's surface. Cicero could travel from Rome to Cilicia, and fill his frequent epistles with selfish trifles, while scarcely bestowing a glance upon the magnificent scenery, so new and so strange to Roman eyes, through which his journey led him. For the same reason, landscape-painting cannot be said to have existed as an independent branch of the pictorial art, and it appears to have been only employed as a mode of architectural decoration.

A renowned German writer has asserted that Hackert, an artist of the last century, was the first painter who in his landscapes correctly discriminated between the different species of trees. The early painters of Germany itself might have taught the critic that this sweeping assertion was an error; but it is nevertheless true, that not only foliage, but all forms of vegetation, were rather conventional than imitative in art, until the diffusion of botanical knowledge had made specific distinctions familiar.

Geological science is of later origin and growth than most other branches of natural knowledge. The common eye is not yet trained to the study and recognition of the inorganic, eruptive, or sedimentary forms and outlines which mark the surface of the earth, and still less to the relations between different heights or formations and the vegetable organisms specially appropriate to them. Hence it is that few landscapes have a true geographical character, and it can hardly be said that the artist has yet appeared who can paint a sand-plain, a shattered lava-current, a natural prairie, or even a rocky pinnacle unclothed with moss or other vegetation. So indispensable is scientific knowledge to the faithful portraiture of nature, that the zoölogist and the botanist find it almost impossible to procure from an unstudied artist, however otherwise skilful, an accurate drawing of the simplest living specimen, or single organ, and the illustrations even of professed works on natural history, though artistic in execution and beautiful to the eye, are not unfrequently wholly defective in the representation of marks of specific difference, or of the general scientific character and distinctive physiognomy of the original.

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In like manner, in the rendering of atmospheric phenomena it was only the most palpable features, such as the blue depths, or the shapeless mist, that were seized by the painter, and clouds and skies were conventional and stereotyped, until Howard drew attention to the specific forms of vaporous aggregation, and science began to divine the relations of cause and consequence to which the cumulus, the stratus, and the cirrus, with their various combinations and modifications, belong.

The heavenly bodies lie so nearly without the painter's sphere, that they are hardly legitimate objects of pictorial represention. They must, however, be introduced into evening and moonlight landscape, and are often indispensable accessories in allegorical painting. But so inaccurate are the usual notions of artists respecting them, that even so conspicuous an object as the moon is seldom truthfully depicted; and in spite of the familiarity which the observations of six thousand years, and the general diffusion of astronomical knowledge, must be supposed to have given all men with that luminary, one of the most celebrated landscape-painters is said to have represented our satellite in an impossible form or position in no less than three pieces which figured at one exhibition.

The author of "The Modern Painters," the most eloquent if not the soundest of artistical critics, has made landscape-painting the subject of the profoundest study; and if he has not succeeded in establishing all his æsthetical theories, he has, at least, given us the strongest incentive and the best guide to the intelligent non-professional observation of nature which exists in any literature. The most pernicious of Ruskin's errors is the doctrine which, in spite of occasional disclaimers, pervades all his works, that beauty is only for the rich, because costliness and rarity and inherent difficulty are all essential elements of the beautiful in art. The attainment of excellence in any field of human effort is indeed difficult, and always involves persevering, conscientious, and self-sacrificing labor. But this is the price which Providence imposes upon the artist, not a necessary or legitimate ingredient in the pleasure that the spectator derives from beauty and har-

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mony of form and color. With Ruskin, it is a profanation to build a grain-market with clustered columns and sculptured capitals, with groined arches and fretted vaults, to decorate a shop-front with twining arabesques, ornamented friezes, or painted windows, or even to plant flower-beds in the court of a railroad depot or along its track. But is not this the prejudice of a mind to which everything is vulgar that savors of the common cares imposed by Providence on all save the members of the favored class to which the critic himself belongs? *

Truly considered, the tendency of this familiarization of the eye with beauty in all that environs us is not to degrade art, but to elevate and ennoble common life. The Campanile of Giotto, the Paradise-gates of Ghiberti, the spires of St. Stephen's and of the minsters of Freiburg and Strasburg, have not become less beautiful because their cost is forgotten, or because they look out forever on busy throngs of men engaged in the trivial concerns of humble humanity; nor was the artistic sense of the Græco-Italians debased, because even their kitchen utensils were modelled and decorated with a taste which our most ornate toys cannot surpass.

Equally mistaken is our theorist in holding that the works of nature are admirable only as the poor life of man has illustrated them, and consequently that the face of creation is an unworthy blank in a vast proportion of the continent we inhabit. Wanting ancient memories, American landscape can have no present beauty, and that which God has created cannot acquire picturesque significance, or rightfully claim to excite human sympathies, till man has consecrated it by his doubtful virtues, his follies, or his crimes!

While Ruskin allows the beauty of the individual tree and rock and flower and grass and moss, and purling stream, and

* Witness Ruskin's contempt for the humble-life pictures of Gerard Douw, and of Murillo. But what unprejudiced observer has ever stood before the picture of Douw's decrepit parents seeking in the family Bible the only source of hope and consolation that Heaven has left for declining age, or has gazed into the fathomless depths of tender sadness revealed in the eye of Murillo's Spanish beggar-girl, in the Munich Gallery, without finding a profounder and more touching moral lesson than can be learned from the most brillant portrait of inanimate nature that Turner ever colored!

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dashing cascade, yet as the Author of nature has grouped them in broad landscape, half revealing, half hiding with lichens, the weather-beaten summit of the mountain, clothing its flanks with forests, furrowing its slopes with torrents and cataracts, burying its foot in the turf of the flowery prairie which stretches beneath it, laving its base with winding rivers, and bounding the view with the swelling ocean, — this alone has no charms for the intelligent observer, unless it is stamped with the footprints of man! *

This is not a mere misapplication of the principle of association; it is the error of an eye and a mind habituated to the observation of nature in countries where human action has tamed and modified the primitive outline. Throughout the Eastern continent, man has everywhere left his visible impress on the face of the material creation. He has stripped the mountain-sides of their natural vegetable ornament and protection, and laid bare their surface to the influence of sun and wind and frost and rain, whose action has denuded the rocks of their earthy covering; thousands of years of assiduous toil with plough and harrow and spade and hoe have worn down the smaller inequalities, reduced the slopes, filled up the slighter depressions, melted the curves into each other, and thus softened the abruptness of the natural contour and given the line of vision everywhere a broader and more flowing sweep. The whole field of view seems as if it had been dressed and trimmed and smoothed as much with reference to the pleasure of the eye as to adaptedness to agricultural convenience and use. The intelligent observer here connects the effect with the cause, and this finished regularity of surface is to him an expressive page of unwritten history, a representative and an epitome of the industrial life of a hundred generations, and a more appreciable and impressive proof of the venerable antiquity of Transatlantic social organization than Egyptian monuments which were already crumbling when Cadmus, the traditional father of Grecian civilization, was cradled. The architectural wonders of antiquity,

* The Seven Lamps of Architecture, Chap. VI. Sect. I.

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> "Those temples, palaces, and tombs stupendous,
> Of which the very ruins are tremendous,"

amaze us with their vastness, their magnificence, the enormous expenditure of money and of human toil they imply; but they belong to and represent each its own epoch; they characterize an age, or at most a people. On the other hand, in the changes which the industry of uncounted successive generations has produced in the face of European mother-earth, you have before you, not the accumulated labors of a reign, not of a known historical dynasty or a race even, but the visible traces of every ploughshare that has cloven, every spade that has delved the glebe, since the virgin forests yielded to the axe full thirty centuries ago. Not a sod has been turned, not a mattock struck into the ground, without leaving its enduring record of the human toils and aspirations that accompanied the act; and as you mentally follow back the links of this unending chain, you find them stamped with the impress of multitudes, in comparison with whom the myriads that piled up the Pyramids are but a handful. Every turf is the monument of a hundred lives, and to our eye, accustomed to the verdant and ever-youthful luxuriance of the primitive forest, the very earth of Europe seems decrepit and hoary.

Eyes familiar only with scenery of so artificial a character as this must feel the want of traces of human life in the larger part of our own domain; but, though it must be admitted that the natural configuration of surface is generally less favorable to landscape beauty in the cultivated parts of the United States than in the corresponding portions of the Old World, yet where the elements of that beauty in fact exist, it will be found that they need not the hand of man, or any memorials of his virtues or his vices, to awaken the admiration of every soul that has any true sympathy with creative nature.

It has been insisted that the works of inanimate Nature cannot be a proper object of ideal representation, because it is of the essence of all higher art to ennoble its subject, and that consequently landscape painting, which is purely elective and imitative, not imaginative and creative, is an inferior branch of the profession. There is, however, a more fatal

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objection to the claims of landscape painting to be ranked among the ideal arts, in the fact that no landscape is a whole, or even a complete part of an organic whole, and therefore it has no type at whose realization the painter can aim; for it is the ability to conceive and divine the typical forms of Nature, to find the point to which her lines converge, but which they never actually attain, that constitutes the essence of creative artistic genius.

Every landscape is merely the fragmentary contingent resultant of unrelated forces successive in time, discordant in action, and tending to no common aim. Certain rocks indeed incline to certain crystalline and aggregate forms, but an assemblage of crystals is not therefore the ideal of a mountain, nor should the painter compose his cliffs of pyramids and prisms. On every existing landscape the destructive forces, too, have exerted their power, and their action is as essential to the production of the general result as that of crystallization itself. The outline of a mountain shot up in jagged peaks by subterranean forces, shattered by earthquake and thunderbolt, and rounded by the slow action of chemical forces, all acting independently of and unconditioned by each other, is its true normal form, and nature tends to produce no other. Each single *organic* kind has its end, and in its production Nature constantly aims to repeat the type which she has chosen because it was best suited to the purposes of its creation. All parts of the man, the brute, the vegetable, are due to the opération of a single law directed to the production of a single whole, to the perfection of which the perfection of all the parts is necessary. The organic being therefore is one, the landscape many. Of all the forces concerned in determining the configuration of terrestrial surface, crystallization and gravitation alone tend to the production of constant form. But the action of these is everywhere controlled by those more powerful agencies to which every landscape owes its most prominent features. A mass of molten rock is thrown up from the bowels of the earth by elastic forces, and poured out to harden upon the surface, or perhaps cooled and crystallized under the pressure of a weight like that which crushed the fabled Titans. The stratum thus formed is injected, dis-

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jointed, shattered, elevated, tilted, or overturned by a second convulsion, proceeding from another focus, and acting in a different line of direction. Its summits are lowered, and its angles rounded by wind, and rain, and frost, and atmospheric gases or terrestrial exhalations. A thousand years after, its flanks are rent by an earthquake, and through the fissure pours a deluge from a subterranean reservoir, or from some great lake let loose by the convulsion, which wears down the asperities of its lower regions, fills its depressions with the *débris* of another geological formation, deposits at its base a soil of new ingredients, bears on its current the seeds of a strange vegetation, and confuses its flora with new and inharmonious hues. Again, another catastrophe elevates the sedimentary strata composed of the detritus of its rocks spread out at the bottom of the sea which beats against its cliffs, and hardened by a succession of countless ages. These form extended plains, and, by a second upheaval, a mountain range of different composition and outline. Another convulsion throws up still deeper strata, and produces a third class of mountain, having no community of form or composition with the scenery around it.

In most wide landscapes, all these varied operations of Nature are embraced. No one of the many agencies concerned in them is more a creative or a disturbing force than another, and all alike are constructive causes. In the elements of the landscape, in rock and mountain and plain and sea and river, in climbing vapor and floating cloud and falling shower, there is no ideal type. In all inorganic things, Nature infallibly accomplishes the end she proposes, and needs not the creative imagination of man to portray objects which she has vainly struggled to produce. But throughout all organic life, the process of development is constantly arrested or distorted by disturbing physical causes, harmonious indeed in the operations of creation viewed as a whole, but contingent as respects the individual. Therefore the specific type is never actually realized, and there arises, not merely a pleasing variety, but more or less of actual imperfection. The sculptor or painter, on the other hand, is subject to no disturbances but such as necessarily belong to the inadequacy of his

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material means, and if he possesses that creative gift of which we have spoken, he may conceive and represent forms of a beauty and perfection that Nature has never succeeded in producing.

But the necessity of idealizing organic forms in art arises, not only from the imperfection of Nature's models, but from the demands of our moral constitution, which will not rest without the representation of a purer expression than belongs to mortality. In portrait and historical painting, therefore, it is less the fixed feature and the permanent forms that art strives to improve and elevate, than the fleeting changes of lineament, which give moral expression. Human expression must be ennobled, because man is depraved. His physical nature is distorted, because his moral being is debased.

But no artistic elevation of the works of inanimate Nature is necessary, or even possible. Art cannot ennoble the ocean, when with glassy mirror it gives back the calm heavens, the fleecy clouds, the celestial spheres, or when, convulsed by the tempest, upturned from its uttermost depths and piled up to the sky in rolling masses, it threatens to burst over its eternal landmarks, and shakes the solid earth with its concussion. Nor can the painter idealize or embellish the mist that clings to the side of the mountain, feeding the alpine mosses, or climbs the scarped precipice borne upwards by ascending atmospheric currents, or condenses with the chills of evening and distils drop by drop to form a rill, that soon swells to a torrent, tumbles foaming down the cliffs, glides through the forest, and finally expands into a river freighted with the commerce of nations. The mountain peak piercing the sky with its hoary pinnacles, clothed on its alpine heights with a flora of celestial hues, and subsiding into leafy woods and grassy slopes; the glacier, the iceberg, the cloud pregnant with thunder or gilded by the evening sun, — these admit of no conceivable modifications more grand, more awful, more beautiful, than Nature herself produces, nor is any conventional rule of artistic harmony and composition applicable to bodies which Nature groups by no known law of combination.

But in every single element of landscape, Nature has, if no ideal type, yet her special laws, her general climatic and or-

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ganic adaptations, which the artist must not violate. Certain slopes and outlines, and consequently certain effects of light and shade, belong to certain geological formations, and particular vegetable forms are assigned to particular soils, climates, and elevations. The painter must not combine alpine scenery with tropical vegetation, he must not bring together upon his canvas things which Nature has put forever asunder.

Landscape painting, then, is but the portraiture of inanimate Nature, and as a moral teacher it can but repeat her lessons. It may reveal to the untravelled eye evidences of the power of the Godhead in the characteristic geologic formations, the sky, or the flora of unvisited regions; in the alp, the glacier, and the volcano; in the overhanging precipices of Sinai, the rock-bound alluvion of the Nile valley, or the burning prairies of the West. It may illustrate that natural law whereby all strong and mighty things are perpetually overcome by weaker forces; — the heavy sea, that floats ponderous navies on its surges, convulsed by the agitation of the light and invisible atmosphere; the solid earth dissolved, and the hardest rocks abraded and transported, by the yielding waters; a royal palace, a triumphal arch, or a monumental pyramid, overthrown by the swelling tendrils of a vine.

But this falls short of the dignity of historical painting, in the same proportion as its subject, unconscious Nature, is beneath the rank of divinely endowed man, and the truest portrayer of spontaneous life and inorganic force can produce no images to rival the artistic exhibition of the grace of motion, the majesty of repose, the expression of fear and remorse, of calm and placid meditation, of joy and hope and resignation, in the perfected forms of human beauty.

Artistic genius has been said to consist in the perfection of the senses. Without admitting that this is a just definition of a prerogative which seems of a nobler order, we may allow that highly cultivated organs are essential to excellence in art. The study of nature, as manifested in genera and species, is the best of schools for the eye. The sharpened power of observation thus acquired is almost equivalent to the gift of a new, or rather the recovery of a lost faculty, for the or-

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gans of children, like those of savages, possess an acuteness of perception, which, unless assiduously cultivated, disappears, or is greatly weakened, long before the meridian of life. The intelligent rural-bred boy recognizes every bird indigenous to his precinct by the faintest note of its song, or a single flap of its wings in its swiftest flight; he knows the leaf, the flower, the fruit, the seed, the bark, the mode of ramification, the qualities of the wood of every tree and more conspicuous arborescent and herbaceous plant, and distinguishes them with equal certainty, whether clad in full foliage or bared by the frosts of winter. He is familiar with the haunts, the traces, and the habits of every wild quadruped and reptile and fish that frequents the neighboring fields and forests or waters, and in all but name is already a naturalist.

This inborn sympathy with Nature is the source of the highest and most refined enjoyments of which childhood is susceptible, and when duly cherished it tends in a remarkable degree to develop the intelligence and excite the thinking powers of youth. And herein is an exemplification of the remarkable analogies which are often observed between the highest, maturest, most cultivated genius, and the most unsophisticated, most untrained childhood; between the untutored savage and the man of most refined and artificial culture. The necessities, the appetites of infancy and of primitive life, and the pursuit of liberal knowledge, all guide us through paths that lead to the temple of Nature.

To him who has never abjured this native impulse, or who has in maturer life returned to his pristine allegiance to our common mother, the responses of her oracles are the most soothing of external influences, and he is emphatically a wise man who has learned to commune with her in the many tongues in which she speaks to her children. He finds not music only, but profound instruction, in the notes of the song-bird, and the sighing of the pine; for him the voice of the thunder, of the bursting volcano, of the seething ocean, mingle grand and cheering truths with their words of terror. He reads in characters impressed upon the solid rock the historic record of myriads of ages when man was not, and every new field of view unfolds to him evidences of physical revo-

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lutions as mighty as the Noachian deluge. If he travels in foreign lands, he sees how, out of the same small stock of primitive materials, Nature has fashioned inorganic forms, sometimes analogous to those of his native soil, sometimes strangely diverse from them; and how, on the other hand, with seeming resemblance of organic life between remote regions, it is yet everywhere so distinct, that, though all living things are representative, each of each, in corresponding climates of the Old and New Worlds, yet neither tree, nor shrub, nor flower, nor grass, nor bird, nor quadruped, nor fish, nor creeping thing, is specifically identical in both. All this diversity of form he recognizes as varied manifestations of the same universal laws. The statute-book of Nature is one, and its provisions embrace every material phenomenon. Its language is universal, and to the initiated it wants no alien interpreter. The student in this faculty has his library and his museum always before him, and needs no cloistered halls, no vast collections, to provide him with teachers or with manuals. He can fill a volume with the history of a spire of grass, and the busy spider, that tapestries with its web the solitary cell of a prison, will furnish a cabinet that may employ the observation of a lifetime. If he cannot visit Arabia or Switzerland, the desert or the glacier, he has still at his command the starry wonders of the mighty firmament, the glories of the rising and the setting sun, the gilded cloud and the rainbow, the mysteries of the falling shower and the drifting snow, the majesty of the thunder and the whirlwind, the secrets of myriad shapes of organic life; and the microscope will reveal to him in the wing-case of a beetle, or the smallest handful of sand, a richer assemblage of gems than ever decked the diadem of an Eastern monarch. Wherever his steps are directed, he finds in the book of Nature the richest of volumes, in her productions the most attractive of social circles, and, to use the words of an eminent divine, he may everywhere enjoy "a happiness surpassing all worldly pleasures, all gifts of fortune, — the happiness of communing with the works of God."

But here the student of physical law must be merged in the Christian philosopher. He must recognize in material things, not the spontaneous products of a self-existing though

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unconscious organizing power, but the marks and designs of conscious intelligence. He must remember that the pursuit of natural science is not an ultimate but a secondary object, that it is but the stepping-stone to a far higher knowledge, without which it is inept, trifling, valueless; that in its highest forms it reveals but the material relations, the accidents, not the essence of things. From the laboratory, the cabinet, and the botanic garden, he must advance to other halls, and unless he complete the arch of his discipline with the keystone of a spiritual philosophy, he has wasted his materials on a perishable and worthless structure.

The economic value and the lower uses of physical knowledge are too familiar, and the brilliant rewards it holds out to those who most successfully pursue it are too tempting, to make it necessary to appeal to such considerations, and we would rather urge the student to follow it for its own sake, and to seek in it inherent compensations for the toil it may cost him. The great object of accumulating the facts and mastering the principles which together compose the body of natural knowledge is, that we may learn, not how to extract a larger amount of physical good out of the resources of Nature, for this is but an incidental advantage, but how to emancipate ourselves from her power, and make our victories over the external world a vantage-ground to the conquest of the yet more formidable and not less hostile world that lies within.

The applicability of science to the uses of material life is a base and degrading test of its true value; it should be pursued for what it helps us to become, not for that which it enables us to do. Tried by the standard question, "Of what use is it?" in its vulgar acceptation, all that is truly great is well-nigh worthless, and virtue itself becomes vice, when its precepts are followed because they are gainful. The Arctic discoveries of our intrepid Kane open no new markets for the cottons of Manchester or Lowell, or the iron of Birmingham or Pittsburg, — add little to our knowledge of the superficies of our globe, or to our speculative acquaintance with the laws of matter; but who does not feel that the heroic example by which he and his brave companions have refuted the imputation of the effeminacy and degeneracy of the age, and dis-

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played the courage, hardihood, perseverance, discipline, that deified men in the era of the Grecian demigods, is of greater value, in every worthy sense, to American nationality, than if he had brought home from the frozen seas a hundred cargoes of gold and diamonds!

Scholars addicted to the pursuit of religious, ethical, and intellectual philosophy see, or seem to see, dangers to the interests of these grand studies in the zeal with which physical science is now prosecuted, and they believe that a devotion to the cultivation of natural knowledge leads to materialism in philosophy, to scepticism in religion, and to a too sensuous view of the mystery of human existence.

While we condemn an exclusive contemplation of the secret of our being, and of our relations to our Maker and our fellows, from either the spiritual or the physical side, and allow the superior interest and importance of metaphysical and theological science, we cannot admit the fact of any such increased engrossment in material studies as the objection supposes, or any such dangers as are apprehended from their still wider cultivation, provided that each course of inquiry be limited to its own appropriate objects. If, as all Christians and even the wiser heathen admit, the Father of our spirits is also the God of Nature, no one law of his universal code can conflict with any other law, nor can the discovery and disclosure of any truth endanger the reality or the ultimate recognition of any other truth. The firmest conviction that the spiritual life is a mode of being, exempt from the operation of the physical laws of cause and effect, cannot shake the demonstrations by which the dynamic laws of matter are established; and, on the other hand, the conscious certainty of our own spiritual processes and experiences is not to be impugned by arguments founded on external observation, and conclusions deduced from the assumed properties and capabilities of atoms.

The evidences of Christianity are most weakened when the higher proofs are abandoned, and the lower relied upon, and the natural theologies of its friends have done it a greater disservice than the subtlest objections of its assailants. It is a poor Divinity which rests its claims to godhead on the

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instincts of the beaver or the sagacity of the ant. Nature can teach the existence only of a cause adequate to the effect, and in her works there is nothing which might not be the product of faculties and powers analogous in kind, but in degree sufficiently superior, to our own. The divine attributes with which man, as an immortal, responsible being, is most concerned, and especially the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, are neither suggested, nor can they be established, by proofs drawn from material things. Unlimited power and boundless knowledge do not necessarily imply moral perfection; and though wisdom is usually found allied with goodness, yet they are not one in essence. Spiritual religion must look elsewhere than to the natural world for its evidences; its authority is endangered, not by the revelations of science, but by that weakness of its advocates which appeals to lower and feebler grounds, because, however inconclusive, they are more specious, obvious, and tangible.

We have denied the truth of the assumption, that men are more absorbed in material interests in consequence of the advance of natural knowledge. Doubtless the material action of communities rich in objects of industrial elaboration, or in highly improved mechanical or chemical processes, is more conspicuous from the greatly increased magnitude of the results obtained. The steam-engine, with its half-dozen attendants for operation and supply, does the work of a thousand hands; but does not that very fact imply that some portion at least of those whose labors it performs are thereby relieved from humble toils, and left at liberty for higher callings? Were the rude husbandry, the unscientific routine tillage, the coarse handicrafts, that made every laborer of the Middle Ages an animated machine, less material, in their absolute character or their tendencies, than the refined processes of modern industrial art? Is the boor of agricultural Europe debased, and not rather elevated and humanized, when he is transferred from the clod to the workshop? and does not the guidance of a power-loom imply a more cultivated intelligence than the throwing of a shuttle? The substitution of the wheel for the spindle, and the jenny for the wheel, were steps which benefited society, not merely because they econ-

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omized human labor and cheapened the comforts of life, but because they tended to develop intelligence, and stimulate thinking, calculating, foreseeing action. The wielding of a tool involves no knowledge of law, no apprehension of a chain of actions intermediate between the cause and the effect; but the simplest machine cannot be operated without a knowledge of its principles, and some intelligence of the laws of Nature on which they rest. The engine-driver, therefore, necessarily thinks, and though occupied with mechanical action, does not himself become assimilated to a machine.

The advancement of natural knowledge and its practical applications have not increased, but on the contrary have sensibly diminished, the proportion of every civilized people actually engaged in mere manual toil. They have withdrawn from purely intellectual pursuits few or none who would otherwise have devoted themselves to those higher studies, but they have exercised the minds and called forth the latent powers of thousands, who, but for their attractions and their rewards, would have remained confined to the humblest walks, and bound to the most material occupations of human life.

A most beneficial effect of the mechanical improvements of modern times is the release of women from a large share of those petty cares, that ceaseless round of household labors, which have hitherto so injuriously affected the health, the temper, and the intellectual life of the female sex. The banishment of the cards and the distaff, the loom and the dye-tub, from the domestic fireside, the multiplied mechanical appliances and the improved culinary arrangements of the present day, have emancipated women from much of that unresting toil, which, commencing with the earliest dawn, and ceasing not, like man's labors, at the going down of the sun, have narrowed and abridged their education, crushed down the cheerful buoyancy and hopefulness of their temperament, prematurely exhausted their physical powers, and made them the drudges, not the helpmates, of the sterner sex.

Hence woman is now free to assume her true position, as not merely a subordinate refining, purifying, and hope-inspiring influence, but as the worthy and equal companion of man, possessing a higher and more generous moral nature

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than his, with not inferior, though diversely fashioned, intellectual gifts, and therefore as the special elevating element in human society.

It is found that the average intelligence of the whole body politic has been advanced, in the same proportion as the arts founded on a knowledge of the laws and processes of Nature; and while physical science has robbed "divine Philosophy" of none of her votaries, it has given birth, in both sexes, to a numerous and highly trained and disciplined class, which had no existence in stages of society less favorable to the promotion of the pursuits of natural knowledge. The number of studious, thoughtful, truth-seeking men, of the *clerisy*, so to speak, is thereby augmented, and the world as a whole is wiser, and not worse, for the introduction of this third estate into the body of our social organization.

But, apart from this particular effect of the elevation of a class of men, or rather the creation of a new order of dignified and intellectual pursuits, it has certainly not been observed, that scholars engaged in scientific research, in detecting the hidden powers and exploring the secret paths of Nature, in binding and loosing her mighty energies, and developing the inexhaustible resources she offers for improving the physical condition of man, are in fact specially disposed to a material philosophy or a sensuous life. The metaphysical German is rapidly advancing to the foremost place in both the investigation of scientific principle and the practical applications of physical law; and it is a most significant and important fact, that the present religious reaction in Germany has followed closely upon the increase and diffusion of a taste for natural knowledge, and the advance of mechanical art. Again, if we compare the nations farthest advanced in the knowledge of mechanical principles, and the arts dependent upon them, with those which have remained behind in the march of physical improvement, we shall not find in England, France, or the German States, for example, a smaller proportion of men devoted to the highest walks of intellectual effort and spiritual contemplation, than in untutored Muscovy, or in primitive Italy and Spain. Thus far, then, the apprehensions of the speculative philosopher do not seem warranted by existing facts.

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But suppose it were otherwise, and admit that the increased absolute, if not relative, prominence which modern education and prevailing taste give to the study of natural knowledge is an evil; it is still an evil which no voluntary efforts can arrest, and therefore we should strive, not to elude what is inevitable, but to mitigate mischiefs which cannot be altogether averted. The leading pursuits of men, their tastes, their more intellectual recreations even, are directed by external causes over which the individual has no control, and the spring of whose energy lies beyond the reach of society itself. Our abstract opinions with regard to what may be inherently the worthiest objects of pursuit, have but little influence in moulding our tastes, still less in determining the choice of our actual occupations, which depend on the accidental circumstances and interests of birth, fortune, and condition, with a thousand other contingencies that can neither be foreseen nor controlled. It is in vain, therefore, to seek to dissuade men from such lawful course of study and of life as the condition of society from time to time prescribes, and the mass of men, however naturally gifted for abstract metaphysical speculation, are forced to engage in material occupations unfavorable to the repose demanded for the investigation and solution of the highest and most important problems of abstract philosophy. There is perhaps nothing in the course of Providence, nothing in the constitution of man, that authorizes us to believe that the primeval sentence — which, though uttered in the form of a malediction, has hitherto proved, if not directly a blessing, at least a means and condition of all blessings — will be revoked; but if our race is ever generally released from the restraints which physical necessities now impose upon it, and allowed the leisure and the repose which the mastering of the most exalted themes and the climbing of the loftiest summits of human thought require, it will be by such advances in natural science, and such improvements in the dependent arts, as shall enable us everywhere to substitute for the living machine the spontaneous and unwearying forces of inorganic nature. This consummation, so far as it shall be realized, will be due to the successful prosecution of the studies we are defending. The more or less complete emancipation of man

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from slavery to his own necessities, the ability to devote himself more freely to the highest earthly pursuits, and his consequent indefinite progress in intellectual as well as physical power, is a probable result of the continued advancement of sciences, which have already virtually doubled the span of human life by multiplying our powers and abridging that portion of our days which the supply of our natural wants imperiously claims as its tribute.

Let not then the philosophic philanthropist seek to scare or seduce away the votaries of Nature, or discourage pursuits which claim no rivalry with his own. Let him, on the contrary, by demonstrating the God in and over nature, give a loftier direction to the study of His works, and the investigation of the laws which He has imposed on the material creation. Let him instil into the pupil of science a purer and more reverent spirit, animate him with nobler and more generous aims, and guard him against that sensuous philosophy which makes all spiritual action amenable to material law, and that natural theology which finds in final causes and mutual adaptations, in compensations and expediencies, a system of ethics and divinity so complete as to make a revelation superfluous. With these precepts and these cautions, the disciple may safely be dismissed; and though his investigations may lead him and the world to new views of the relations between natural and spiritual existences, his discoveries in external nature can never endanger truths whose verity was recognized before a physical law had been formulated by man, and will be confessed when our connection with material things shall have ceased forever.

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Art. IV. — PESTALOZZI.

Life, Educational Principles, and Methods of John Henry Pestalozzi: with Biographical Sketches of several of his Assistants and Disciples. Reprinted from the American Journal of Education, edited by Henry Barnard, LL. D., Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin. In two Parts. Part I. *Memoirs of Pestalozzi and his Disciples.* Part II. *Selections from the Publications of Pestalozzi.* New York: F. C. Brownell. 1859. 8vo. pp. 238 and 230.

The name of Pestalozzi has long been familiar in our mouths, and no teacher or student of education would think himself qualified to speak on the subject who did not know, or think he knew, something of the great Swiss reformer; yet it is a little singular how few are the sources of information respecting him in the English language. The Life of him by his pupil, Dr. Bebee, published in England in 1831, has long been out of print, and, besides this, a magazine or review article or two, and brief sketches in the biographical dictionaries, are pretty much all the means, so far as we know, that readers of English have of acquainting themselves with his character and history. German literature abounds in materials of all kinds, but no one had thought it worth his while, spite of all that is said and written on the subject of Education, to transfer any part of them into the English language, until Dr. Barnard published in his Journal of Education the articles out of which the volume before us has been compiled. These are taken, in the First Part, almost entirely from the History of Education,* by Karl von Raumer, brother of the historian. The Life of Pestalozzi himself occupies 138 of

* Geschichte der Pädagogik vom Wiederaufblühen klassischer Studien bis auf unsere Zeit, von Karl von Raumer. (History of Pedagogics, from the Revival of Classical Studies to our Time, by Karl von Raumer.) 4 vols. 8vo. Stuttgardt, 1846–56. A second edition has been published. This work, though open to some criticism, both in regard to plan and execution, is yet a valuable, and, what is less commonly true of German works of the kind, a very readable performance. The greater part of it has been translated and published in Dr. Barnard's Journal. We hope it is his intention to publish it separately.

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the 238 pages of this part; the remainder consists of brief biographical sketches of some of his most distinguished pupils and followers in Germany, — names that will be for the most part new to American readers, but most of them standing high on the honorable roll of educational benefactors in the Old World, and deserving to be better known by all who take an interest in the subject here. The Second Part consists entirely of translations of extracts from Pestalozzi's numerous publications, the chief place being given to an abridgment of his famous story, "Leonard and Gertrude."

We rejoice at the appearance of any work that will make Father Pestalozzi better known to American readers; for we hold that his life and labors must be the starting-point in the studies of every one who would understand what modern education is, or who would fit himself for doing anything to improve its methods or promote its interests. What the labors of Bacon were to the Philosophy of Nature, that the labors of the poor Swiss schoolmaster were to the Philosophy of Education, — the landmark of a great reformation, the starting-point of a new era. And just as no man of science now puts a single question to Nature to discover her hidden mysteries, save in the light of the principles laid down by the great English thinker, so not the humblest teacher in the poorest village of Europe or America but is more or less influenced, consciously or unconsciously, in all his teaching, and in all his experiments, by the life and labors of the humble Swiss. We need not say, therefore, of what importance we consider it that the story of his life should be better known, and the meaning of his labors understood and appreciated; for though all our schools and teachers feel his influence, we are far from thinking that they feel it as they should, or that his labors have begun to bring forth, at least among us, all the good fruit they are capable of producing.

There was a period, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, when, through the efforts of several enlightened teachers, and the publication of the admirable arithmetics of Warren Colburn, — books truly Pestalozzian in their structure and principles, — much attention was attracted to his name; but, like other noble names, it was subjected to more or less misunder-

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standing and abuse through its assumption by charlatans and pretenders. We are not sure that "Pestalozzianism" does not at this moment stand in the minds of many people for something a little out of the safe way, — something in the nature of those royal roads and short cuts to knowledge of which quacks put forth so many. If it is really so, it is very much to be regretted. The very essence of Pestalozzianism — if we must use such an uncouth word — consists in its being at war with all forms of quackery and false learning. It was nothing less than the first philosophical attempt at investigating the right methods and principles of mental culture. It will be Pestalozzi's undying glory, that he first appreciated the extent and importance of this problem, and was the first to enter on the path which all succeeding inquirers have followed. In that history of modern civilization to which the future will at some period give birth, we think his name will take a more prominent place than in any history at present known to us.

We cannot say that Herr von Raumer has been altogether happy in his treatment of his subject. He thinks he finds that Pestalozzi was not strictly orthodox in his belief on all the points of Luther's Catechism, in which he is probably quite correct. But he proceeds from that to the conclusion that Pestalozzi was but an indifferent Christian, in which he is very incorrect indeed. The man who spent a long and troubled life in the service of the highest interests of his fellow-men, and more especially of the poor, the ignorant, and the oppressed, and in that service sacrificed all selfish considerations, giving time, health, property, everything he possessed, to the cause to which he had devoted himself, was surely a pretty good practical Christian, whatever may have been his views of the Lutheran Catechism. Who shall dare cast a stone at him? says Herr von Raumer. Who indeed? He of whom Lavater said, "A man so thoroughly imbued in feeling, word, and deed with the spirit of the Saviour, I never before met," can well dispense with Herr von Raumer's charity. "I carried away with me," says Dr. Nonke, "the image of a man who forgot himself his whole life long, and in a spirit of the most self-sacrificing love lived with children, with the poor, and

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the neglected; — a man who looked upon children as God's seed-corn to be planted and tended with pure hands and pious thought, as beings to be developed according to the holy laws of their inner nature, and who therefore listened and sought for those laws with reverent care; — a man who, in poverty and sorrow, in the midst of contempt and neglect, ceased not to love and to bless, to give and to help; who made himself poor to build homes for the poor, and a beggar that he might teach beggars to live like Christians and like men." * Surely this is the picture of a tolerable Christian.

Unfortunately, also, Von Raumer visited Yverdun for the purpose of studying Pestalozzi's system at a time when those unhappy dissensions among his assistants, which so embittered their master's life, were at their highest, and he seems to have taken a decidedly partisan share in them on the side of one who, if we can believe other trustworthy accounts, was possessed with a spirit very different from that of Pestalozzi himself. For these reasons, interesting as his account is, and accurate in all its principal details, we do not think that it gives an adequate view of Pestalozzi's real greatness. We think he is disposed to dwell too much upon his short-comings, and upon the dark side of his troubled life. If the reader, however, will make allowance for this bias, we can most heartily recommend the book, as well worthy to take its place among the few really valuable and helpful books on Education that our language possesses.

That Pestalozzi had great weaknesses and defects of character, his warmest admirers cannot deny; that he had no practical skill in applying his own principles, that his teaching was sometimes even carried on in direct opposition to them, that he had, as he himself acknowledges, "an unrivalled incapacity to govern," — a defect which entailed endless unhappiness upon him, and constantly hindered the success of his practical undertaking, — is abundantly evident in the accounts of even his most partial friends. But it is all the stronger evidence of the depth and vitality of the great principles he advocated, that he could produce such a profound influence

* "Centennial Celebration of Pestalozzi's Birthday at Hildburghausen," p. 42.

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upon Europe, in spite of all their practical failures. Those principles have leavened the educational systems of the civilized world, and now, to the young teacher desirous of mastering the true philosophy of his profession, we can point out no better course of study than is afforded by the writings of the genuine Pestalozzians.

Art. V. — SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

1. *President Buchanan's Reply to Professor Silliman and Others.* New York Evening Post, September 3, 1857.
2. *President Buchanan's Message to Congress, December* 8, 1857.
3. *Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Case of Dred Scott* versus *John F. A. Sandford.* Howard's Reports, Vol. XIX. p. 393.
4. *Popular Sovereignty in the Territories.* By Stephen A. Douglas. Harper's Magazine for September, 1859.
5. *Observations on Senator Douglas's View of Popular Sovereignty, as expressed in Harper's Magazine for September*, 1859, *with an Appendix.* By Judge Black, Attorney-General of the United States.
6. *Popular Sovereignty in the Territories: Judge Douglas in Reply to Judge Black.*

The President of the United States has said that slavery exists in the Territories under the Federal Constitution.

Mr. Douglas has said that slavery is neither established nor prohibited by the Federal Constitution, but that the people of the Territories are "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

It will be observed that Mr. Douglas agrees with the President in the assumption that the Constitution of the United States extends over and is authoritative in the Territories, but disagrees with him as to the interpretation and power of that instrument.

Others have said that slavery does not exist by force of the

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Federal Constitution; that the people of the Territories have not power of themselves, but that the Federal Congress alone has power to establish slavery in the Territories before and up to the time when each Territory shall become a State, by the adoption of a State constitution, and admission into the Union.

It is unimportant to search the sources and trace the history of these doctrines, as now understood: to test them by the application of well-established and incontrovertible principles, is the purpose of this article.

When there is a difference of opinion in regard to the meaning of any writing, and important measures are to be determined by the explanation which shall be adopted, it would seem fair to insist that the advocates of either side should adhere throughout, in all essential particulars, to the rules of construction first agreed to and acted upon by them. The principles of logic and of legal interpretation alike demand this; it would seem impossible without it to make the interpretations of different portions consist with each other as parts of the same instrument. The remark applies as forcibly to parties as to individuals.

The party of which the President, at the time of his election, and at the time when he enunciated the theory above imputed to him, was the head, adopted the rule of strict construction, as wise and safe, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of the Federal Constitution. This rule has often had a determining force, and was urgently put forward in support of the doctrines which formed the basis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It was thought by the advocates of that measure that the clause of the Constitution authorizing Congress "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States," gave Congress no legal right to make laws for the municipal government of the Territories.

We do not now wish to dispute the correctness of that opinion. The language is not explicit to the effect that Congress shall regulate the municipal affairs of the Territories; although we think there need be no doubt as to its meaning and intention. But this language, in favor of the power of Congress to govern the Territories, would seem

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quite as explicit as any that can be found in the Constitution in favor of establishing slavery in the Territories.

The right to institute slavery in the Territories cannot be reserved either to the States or to the people, if it already exists there under the Constitution of the United States. Yet we are unable to discover in that instrument, unless it be in the clause respecting rules for the regulation of the territory and other property belonging to the United States, any language which expressly, or by implication, delegates to the United States the power to establish slavery in the territorial, or any other, portion of the national domain. Nor do we find language by which the Constitution invests itself with power to establish any domestic institution.

The decision of "the highest tribunal known to our laws," summoned by Mr. Buchanan to the support of his theory, is that given in the case of Dred Scott, in which the Supreme Court of the United States reiterated the well-established principle, that the Constitution "must be construed and administered now according to its meaning and intention when it was formed and adopted."

The "meaning and intention" of an instrument must be the meaning and intention of its authors. If the clauses of the Constitution which refer to slavery contain greater potency for the establishment of slavery in the Territories than shall appear from a careful examination of them, it must arise from a hidden power infused into them by the intention of the framers of that instrument. Did the authors design to give to these portions of the Constitution the power to call into being the institution of involuntary servitude in the Territories then or subsequently belonging to the United States, contrary to the obvious meaning of the language? It cannot be said that the delegates from the Northern States entertained this purpose. If, then, such intention existed at all, it was ineffectual for want of unanimity. But was it the design of Southern statesmen either in or out of the convention?

Let Patrick Henry speak for them: —

"Is it not amazing, that, at a time when the rights of humanity are defined with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age, and in such a country, we

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find men, professing a religion the most humane and gentle, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to liberty."

Let William Pinckney speak for them: —

"Iniquitous and most dishonorable to Maryland is that dreary system of partial bondage which her laws have hitherto supported with a solicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countenanced. Founded in a disgraceful traffic, to which the parent country lent her fostering aid from motives of interest, but which even she would have disdained to encourage had England been the destined mart of such inhuman merchandise, its continuance is as shameful as its origin."

Let Thomas Jefferson answer for the whole country: —

"With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, — destroys the morals of one part and the *amor patriæ* of the other. And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure, when we have refused the only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? — that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I recollect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events, and that it may become probable by a supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

The Convention in which the Constitution was framed was in session at the same time with the Congress of the Confederation which passed the Ordinance of 1787. Some of the members of this Convention were also members of the Congress. It cannot be presumed that these men intended to insert in the Constitution even an implied provision, which, by force of express terms in that instrument, should render forever null and void the clause of that Ordinance prohibiting forever involuntary servitude. To presume an intention of this kind on the part of these men, were to cast a most unjust

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and unwarranted aspersion on their reputation for sagacity and integrity.

But all contemporary discussion, legislation, and judicial interpretation proves unequivocally that the statesmen who were instrumental in the formation of the Constitution, and in securing its adoption, entertained no design to extend slavery by giving it a constitutional sanction. The contrary everywhere appears. It can hardly be said, therefore, with any show of reason, that the "meaning and intention" of the Constitution legalizes slavery in the Territories.

Having thus shown that no hidden or unexpressed meaning and intention, given to the Constitution by its authors, involves this power, but that, on the contrary, the Constitution says upon this subject all that it means, we proceed to examine the merits of the theory advanced by Mr. Buchanan.

We do not intend to discuss the social, political, moral, or religious aspects of slavery; nor is it to our present purpose to assert or deny that the common good of all concerned may warrant the substitution of municipal law, by which it is authorized, for natural law, by which it is forbidden. We wish merely to ascertain the secret of its legal existence.

Formerly the law of might was the law of nations. The vanquished, who fell into the hands of their enemies, were spoil belonging to the victors; and death, slavery, or liberty for a price, was their lot. If not ransomed, or preserved for servitude, they were slain. Hence Justinian's derivation of the Latin word for slave: — "Slaves are denominated *servi*, from the practice of our generals to sell their captives, and thus preserve and not slay them." "*Servi autem ex eo appellati sunt, quod imperatores captivos vendere, ac per hoc servare, nec occidere, solent.*"

In his definition of slavery, Justinian admits that it does not exist by the law of nature: — "Slavery is an appointment of the law of nations by which one man is subjected to the dominion of another, contrary to natural right." "*Servitus autem est constitutio juris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subjicitur.*"

The civilization which resulted from Christianity has repealed this law of nations. It has gone further, and attempted

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to enact a law which shall so far recognize natural justice as to forbid trade in slaves among enlightened nations. Writers on natural law, common law judges, and statesmen, — Grotius and Rutherforth, Mansfield and Best, Patrick Henry, William Pinckney, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and a host of others, — have borne willing testimony to the truth of the proposition that involuntary servitude cannot exist by natural right, and have supported it with all the might of learning, wisdom, and eloquence.

But it is said that slavery may exist "permissively." If this means anything, it means that the penalties otherwise incurred by a violation of the universal and immutable laws of justice and natural right are suspended. Mere permissive law, in respect to this subject, can be nothing more than a suspension of the laws of civilized society, by which the law of force resumes its sway; it can give no protection to property in slaves; if it does, it becomes to all intents and purposes a positive enactment in favor of slavery. But what exists by suspension of law only, cannot be said to have a legal existence, — cannot be said to be the creature of law. Slavery, therefore, cannot exist in the Territories of the United States, with the sanction and protection of law, unless instituted by positive law.

If it be true, then, that slavery exists in the Territories under the Constitution of the United States, it must follow that, so far as relates to this subject, the Constitution has the force of municipal law. Whatever powers of this kind the Constitution now contains, it has contained since the time of its adoption; no provisions on the subject have since been added. Evidently this operation of the Constitution cannot be confined to the Territories. No language in the provisions relating to slavery, or in any other part of the instrument, limits the effect of these provisions to the Territories only, before and up to the time when they become States. On the contrary, the States are expressly mentioned in the clauses containing these provisions, while no reference is made to the Territories in any way. The Constitution, then, even admitting that it extends over the Territories in the same manner, and with the same force, as over the States, possesses no more

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power in itself to institute slavery as a legal domestic relation in the one than in the other.

The Constitution provided for itself, and each of the original thirteen States when it adopted the Constitution, and each of the new States when it was admitted, agreed, that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

No provisions in the Federal Constitution in any way qualify this assertion of supremacy. No language which it contains could be tortured into a confession of its own weakness. Nothing in it could be made to mean that the provisions which establish slavery in the Territories may be overridden by the constitutions with which such Territories shall come into the Union as States. No exception is made in favor of State laws which may be passed for the purpose of abolishing slavery. Of itself, the Federal Constitution is immutable. It requires no complement to make it complete. It is not flexible, or a variable quantity which adapts itself to the provisions of the organic laws of States. If it establishes involuntary servitude in any district, no people in that district, no people in the Territories, no people in the States, no power on earth but the united people of the States united, can render involuntary servitude illegal in that district. For this can only be done by changing the form and character of the instrument itself.

If, by force of its inherent qualities, the Constitution of the United States institutes and legalizes slavery anywhere, it must do so everywhere in the country over which it is the supreme law, so long as the provisions by which slavery is instituted are not specially restrained by the instrument itself to a particular portion of the country, or expunged by the people.

It may be said with as much show of reason, that, when the population of a State shall have reached a given number, the people of that State, so far as they are concerned, may abrogate the provision of the Constitution which forbids it, and

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lawfully send more than two Senators to Congress; or that, as soon as the Union shall contain a given number of foreign-born citizens, the people of the United States, without altering the supreme law, by which it is prohibited, may make a person who is an alien by birth the lawful chief magistrate of the nation; as it can be said that the people of a Territory, when they shall have increased to the number requisite for the formation of a State organization, by adopting a constitution, or by legislative enactments under such constitution, can neutralize provisions of the Federal Constitution which establish slavery.

Admitting that there are such provisions, according to the President's interpretation, there neither are, nor can be, under the Constitution of the United States, free Territories or free States, if by free States be meant political communities where the rights and liberties of all men are equally cared for,—where the law of might is in no case acknowledged by municipal law to be superior to natural and eternal justice.

We have now fairly laid open Mr. Buchanan's doctrine, in its legitimate development. Here we may delay a moment to inquire what laws regulate the relation of master and slave,—protect and enforce their respective rights in the Territories, before Congress or the Territorial government shall have legislated in regard to the matter.

The Constitution is not a code of laws, nor any part of a code. It is not in the nature of it to define property. It furnishes no remedies. It merely regulates the exercise of the powers which constitute a government, and is only called into operation by statutes. Its function is to provide for the administration of government, and to test laws after they are made, and pronounce them valid or invalid. It has no knowledge of persons; it affects them only through legislation. Whatever, therefore, the nature of those parts which are able to create slavery, they are inoperative till brought to bear on individuals by legislative acts.

The laws of the United States do not supply the deficiencies of the Constitution in this respect. There are no United States statutes establishing and regulating slavery. The United States cannot be said to have a complete body of laws;

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municipal laws they have none, and the United States courts are even bound, in many instances, by the laws of the several States.

If slavery, therefore, exist in the Territories by virtue of the Constitution, it must be in its most general sense, defined only by the law of force. If the laws of the slave States go to the Territories to regulate the relation of master and slave, the laws of the free States go there, by the same process, and with the same validity, to forbid that relation. But if, by an unsolved, and till now unsuspected, mystery in the nature and operation of our laws, police regulations instituting and guarding slavery are carried into the Territories, while those which prohibit it are excluded, a great difficulty is still to be overcome. For if the laws of one slave State may be transferred with slaves, the laws of all the slave States may be carried into the Territories, and an inextinguishable conflict of laws thus arises, because the statutes of the different slave States by no means agree.

But it may well be questioned whether the laws of the United States, or of the several States, can of themselves become operative in the Territories. Law is an instrument without procreative power, impotent to enlarge or diminish itself, — to extend or contract the limits of its authority. Its very essence is immutability. It is common to say that a law has been altered; but, strictly speaking, a law cannot be changed; it may be annulled; new laws may be substituted in whole or in part for old ones. The laws, therefore, of one country cannot exist in another, unless adopted or established by express enactment of the competent ruling power. Laws unenforced are of no value, and they can only be brought to bear on a people through judicial and executive officers. All the machinery for rendering effective the municipal regulations of a government in any district is not instantly changed the moment the sovereignty of such district changes hands, as the result of conquest or treaty. If the laws of a victorious people at once, without any act to bring about such a consequence, but of their own inherent force, extended to the vanquished, there could be no such thing as a subject country. For the inhabitants of the country subjected would instantly,

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by the very act of surrender, become entitled to all the various rights of the citizens of the dominant country. Surrender would then be a quick way of gaining citizenship under a foreign government. What is true in this regard of a conquered country, must be equally true of territory acquired in any manner, as the nature and power of the laws is not changed by the manner of the acquisition.

The laws and peculiar institutions of a republic produce no effects different in this respect from those of any other system of government on the inhabitants of territory obtained by conquest or cession. Else the Romans would never have known municipal distinctions, and the *municipia* would never have existed.

The character of our laws may differ, but their nature cannot differ from those of other nations. Hence the laws of the United States, or of the several States, have no greater inherent power of expansion than those of any other country. Our territorial possessions have all been obtained by conquest or cession; none by occupancy. There is nothing, therefore, in the manner of the acquisition, or the character of the territory acquired, which establishes the laws of the Union, or of any part of it, over the inhabitants of the Territories.

It has never been insisted that, in territory acquired by Great Britain, the laws of England, or even those of the United Kingdom, are operative, unless for that purpose expressly enacted or extended by Parliamentary decree. On the contrary, it is a well-known fact that the laws of Great Britain do not extend to its own Colonies in a conquered country. If an uninhabited country be discovered and colonized, English laws, to some extent, go thither with English subjects. But in case of conquest, or cession by treaty, it is different. Sir William Blackstone says, citing legal authorities in support of his statements: —

"It hath been held, that if an uninhabited country be discovered and planted by English subjects, all the English laws then in being, which are the birthright of every subject, are immediately there in force. But this must be understood with very many and very great restrictions. Such colonists carry with them only so much of the English law as is ap-

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plicable to their own situation and the condition of an infant colony; such, for instance, as the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries. The artificial refinements and distinctions incident to the property of a great and commercial people, the laws of police and revenue, (such especially as are enforced by penalties,) the mode of maintenance for the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore not in force. But in conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the king may indeed alter and change those laws; but till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the law of God, as in the case of an infidel country.

"Our American plantations are principally of this latter sort, being obtained in the last century, either by right of conquest, or driving out the nations, (with what natural justice I shall not at present inquire,) or by treaties. And therefore the common law of England, as such, has no allowance or authority there; they being no part of the mother country, but distinct (though dependent) dominions. They are subject, however, to the control of the Parliament, though (like Ireland, Man, and the rest) not bound by any acts of Parliament, unless particularly named."

It may be said, that it is impossible to reason from England, and its political relations, to the United States, because of the radical difference in the political institutions of the two countries. We admit the premises, but not the conclusion. The principles of international jurisprudence, so well expressed by Blackstone, are alike applicable to all nations, whatever the character of their polity. The relation of the United States to England is, obviously, the same as that of England to the United States. The relation of the United States to Spain is the same as that of England to Spain. To all nations they both alike sustain the character of independent sovereign nations of equal rank. The character of the government, which is internal in all its effects, does not influence the external relation. The relation of the United States to Mexico subjugated by American prowess must be the same as that

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of Great Britain to Mexico subjugated by British prowess; unless there be an inherent peculiarity in the laws of the United States, considered merely as laws, derived from the nature of the government. But law does not know its maker, and takes no impress of its image save as to character. Law is the creature of sovereignty, and not of those by whom the sovereign power is wielded. Sovereignty retains its integrity however distributed. The sovereignty of a democracy is not different from that of a monarchy; it is only differently vested.

The rule of international law, by which the laws of territory acquired by conquest or cession remain in force till they are annulled, and a substitution made, by the ruling sovereign, is based, by some writers, upon equity and natural justice. But, leaving equity and justice out of view, the rule would seem to exist from the very nature of the case, unless the people of the acquired territory be deprived of all law for a period.

Upon what facts, or upon what language in the instrument itself, does the President found his interpretation of the Constitution? He shall answer for himself in the words of his Letter: —

"If a confederation of sovereign states acquire a new territory at the expense of the common blood and treasure, surely one set of the partners can have no right to exclude the other from its enjoyment, by prohibiting them from taking into it whatever is recognized to be property by the common Constitution."

It appears, then, that slavery is made to exist in the Territories through the efficacy of a recognition of property in slaves by the Federal Constitution. To this proposition we shall presently give our attention. But first it may be worth while to pause for the purpose of suggesting that the partners — inhabitants of slaveholding and non-slaveholding States — are equally denied the enjoyment of the profits arising from slave labor in the Territories, by the theory which makes the Territories free; and that every kind of natural property, from all parts of the Union alike, may go with its owner to the Territories, whether they be free or slave. From which it would

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seem that the real inequality and injustice would arise from the introduction of an artificial system for the creation of property, working an advantage alone to one portion of the States and a disadvantage to the other portion.

But this recognition of property in slaves, wholly unqualified as it is, must also recognize the validity of the first claim, and, consequently, the legality of the original manner of acquiring title to such property. For unless he who first claims a chattel have a good title, he can convey none to the person who may buy of him. The person from whom a horse has been stolen may reclaim the animal wherever he shall find him, without regard to the purchaser's innocence of all complicity with the theft. It must follow, therefore, that the Constitution of the United States, so far as such recognition has authority, establishes the law of nations which was in operation before the advent of Christianity. If, then, the President's doctrine should be adopted and acted upon as the true theory of the Constitution, it should be no matter of surprise, that, in the course of events, an American farmer should have the opportunity of purchasing a stout, healthy young English, French, or Spanish nobleman to work side by side with a half-breed Mexican, a South-Sea Islander, or a negro. It is to no purpose to say that this recognition in the Constitution is qualified by the laws of the slave States. No reference is made to the laws of any one State in order to make such qualification, nor to the laws of all the States; and if the law of all the slave States be taken, as they may and must, if those of any one are, inextricable confusion would result. Besides, the definition of a slave in some of their codes is comprehensive enough to embrace men of any race or nation, as, for instance, in the code of Louisiana: —

"A slave is one who is in the power of a master, to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master."

Such slavery is the creature of a recognition. But recognition has not creative energy; neither is it a creative act. Its object must be a thing already in existence. This object

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is not and cannot be changed by the act of recognition, either by being enlarged or diminished in itself or its effects.

Even ratification, when necessary to give vitality to laws, can make no change in their form, or the limits of the territory within which they are effective. The recognition by Great Britain of the fact that a man may lawfully have a plurality of wives in Turkey, and exercise marital rights over them, does not extend to Great Britain or any of its colonies the laws which regulate the marriage relation in the Sultan's dominions.

If all the nations of Europe should form a political union, vesting in a general government the management of all national affairs, and reserving to themselves the regulation of their own domestic institutions; and if their constitution, defining and regulating the powers of the general government, should contain a provision enjoining upon the other states embraced in the union the duty of surrendering to his master any serf who should escape across the boundaries of Russia; or should provide that three fifths of the number of serfs should be added to the classes of population enumerated in those countries where hereditary bondage does not exist, and thus be taxed and represented in the general government; — such provisions, and such a recognition of property in serfs, could not be thought to establish and legalize throughout Europe the system of slavery by which serfs are held in Russia.

And if this European confederacy should subjugate or obtain by cession a portion of Asia or America, it would hardly be said that, in the territory thus acquired, serfs could legally be held in servitude, in the same manner as in Russia, because they were recognized as property by the common constitution.

If all the territorial possessions of the United States should dissolve their connection with the general government, and form a union of states for themselves exactly similar to the Federal Union; and if the several members of this new confederation should agree by an article in their constitution that the marriage laws of Utah should be respected by the other states, so that the right of a Mormon husband to reclaim any one of his wives who might escape from Utah should not be

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denied; or even if it were in like manner agreed that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all the wives, less one for each married man," on the ground that the more wives, the more children, and the more wives and children, the more laborers in proportion to the number of inhabitants entitled to vote; — such an agreement would hardly be thought to establish polygamy, as a domestic institution, in all the states of the republic; much less to enact the laws of Utah, by which the rights of husbands, wives, and children, where family relations are so complicated, must be defined and protected.

And if this new confederation should add to its dominion by conquest or treaty, its constitution would scarcely be said to institute polygamy in this new territory, notwithstanding the express recognition in that instrument of the marital and legal interest of a married male inhabitant of Utah in a plurality of wives. Yet marriage, unlike slavery, is a contract entered into by mutual consent; polygamy cannot, therefore, be directly opposed to natural justice.

But it may be worth while to enter on a brief examination, to ascertain whether, in reality, there be in the Constitution of the United States a recognition of property in slaves, and if so, what is its nature.

For the purposes of this examination we may be pardoned for placing together all the different clauses of the Constitution which, in any way, refer to slaves or slavery: —

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons."

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year one thousand

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eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on each importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

"No amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first clause [the quotation immediately preceding] in the ninth section of the first article."

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The history of the compromise by which the first of these clauses was inserted in the Constitution, need not be repeated. The second and third clauses, which may be considered as parts of one provision, were the result of another compromise.

The last clause, had it not been agreed upon by a compromise, would contain, as it now does, as plain an admission and recognition of the principle held by the Northern States, that there can be no property in the moral, mental, and physical faculties of a man, as it does of that professed and acted upon by the Southern States. These conflicting recognitions must destroy each other. Consequently these several clauses contain no express or implied recognition of property in slaves. Were the language of this part of the Constitution, however, so ambiguous as to warrant the interpretation requisite to sustain Mr. Buchanan's position, the explanation furnished by the debates in which this part of the Constitution was elaborated and agreed upon, would clear up the ambiguity and forbid such interpretation. Were a recognition of property in slaves fairly contained in these provisions, it would be only incidental, and a necessary but unintended consequence of admitting the validity and binding efficacy of local laws within the respective jurisdictions of the several States. This would in no manner be an express or direct recognition; would not have the force of an express recognition, whatever that might be; and could in no sense be authoritative.

There is a manifest difference between an admission of the fact that laws instituting slavery exist in particular States,

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coupled with a political compact that those laws shall be respected in certain specified instances beyond the State boundaries, and an article in the organic law of the Federal Union establishing the legal right of property in slaves. The Constitution contains such an admission, and such a compact; but in regard to this subject it contains nothing more.

But it is pertinent to consider whether the assumption, that the Federal Constitution extends to the Territories, be well grounded. And from this point, it will be observed, the examination bears directly, also, upon the position of Senator Douglas.

Municipal law may indeed, in some cases, be extended over a people, and have validity without their consent; but the popular will alone can render the provisions of a constitution obligatory. A constitution is not a law enacted by a sovereign power for the government of those from whom it may demand allegiance, but a rule adopted by sovereignty itself as its guide; a restraint voluntarily put upon its exercise of authority. An organic law imposed upon a community, without its express consent, cannot be a constitution. Although it might differ in character, it would be of the same class of government acts as the laws of Spain for the government of Spanish subjects, as the laws of the Russian autocrat, or as the laws of the tyrant of Syracuse.

One man cannot adopt a constitution for another. Majorities, in the same community, may indeed, by general consent, adopt for minorities. One state cannot adopt a constitution for another. The act is personal with individual states as with individual men. It is the consent of the will to be governed by a fixed plan. This plan is the only law of sovereignty, and in the observance of it sovereignty surrenders none of its attributes; for this observance is not by compulsion.

A community of states cannot adopt a constitution for another community of states, nor for another state. If it could, the United States might compel new States into the Union with the requisite organizations. The organic law, by which Congress gives to the Territories a political existence, may as well be called a constitution, as the constitution of any State or of the United States extended over any territory or people without their own act and express assent.

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The Constitution of the United States does not extend itself. Like all law, it possesses no self-acting power by which the limits of its authority are enlarged. It is extended over a new State by adoption, by the express wish of the inhabitants, who assume allegiance by the act of entrance into the Union.

It may be said that many of the inhabitants of the Territories were formerly citizens of the States; that there they inherited by birth, or acquired by naturalization, the rights secured to the citizens of the several States by the Constitution; that they carried these rights, which are inalienable, with them into the Territories; that they still owe allegiance to the Constitution, and are entitled to its protection; whence it is proved that the Territories, as political societies, are under the authority of the Constitution of the United States. This proposition has a plausible aspect, but its soundness may well be questioned.

Political rights, in any community, are factitious. They are part of a texture of circumstances, and no longer exist when the integrity of the texture is destroyed. No one can enjoy the privileges of citizenship in a political society of which he is not a member. The first requisite for membership of such a society is to have a domicile or settlement within its boundaries. This is the central figure in the web of circumstances. When a person crosses the confines of the state where he has enjoyed the rights of citizenship, with the purpose of renouncing his domicile in that state and of acquiring another, his political relations are entirely changed. He can carry no political rights with him. The most that he can claim or hope is to enjoy in their fulness the privileges of citizens in the country to which he has removed, — the rights and privileges which exist there irrespective of persons as well as of the country whence they came. Even in the United States citizens of one State going to another are not "entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens" which exist in the State from which they came, but only those existing in the State whither they have gone. A citizen of any one State is anywhere in the Federal Union equally protected by the Federal Constitution. It is not, however, because he carries his constitutional rights with him from State to State; but because the Constitution regards the

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citizens of the several States alike, and because it expressly provides that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The enjoyment of the rights secured by the Federal Constitution is one of the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

But when a person crosses the boundaries of the Union, strictly so called, so that he is no longer a citizen of some one of the States, nothing secures to him the privileges of State citizenship. The clause of the Constitution which especially recognizes him as entitled to its protection while he remains in any one of the States, can no longer give him constitutional rights. If he go to Mexico, he may, in time, enjoy the rights of a Mexican citizen. If he go to England, he may become a British subject. In either case he gets but the political rights resulting from the new circumstances in which he has placed himself. So if he go into a Territory of the United States, he may enjoy all the rights granted by the political society existing there, or which may afterwards be formed. But he does not carry the Constitution of the United States upon his shoulders, and spread it as a protecting canopy over the inhabitants of the Territory, whether they will or not.

To argue that certain rights must exist in the Territories because the Constitution extends to them, and that the Constitution must extend to the Territories because certain rights exist there, seems not to be a conclusive method of reasoning.

The argument, stated above, in favor of the proposition that the Constitution is carried into the Territories by the inhabitants, would appear to be worth more, if all the people of the Territories had formerly been citizens of some one of the States. But this cannot be presumed to be the case even in a solitary instance. On the contrary, the chances are that a large portion may be foreigners, or persons from the States who have never enjoyed the full rights of citizenship. Obviously the Constitution protects all or none; its shadow is continuous. It must therefore follow, if this principle be correct, that a few persons, going from the States, may extend the Constitution over many times their number, and bind them in allegiance to it without reference to their wishes. This would

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be inconsistent with the theory of self-government and equal rights in the Territories, on which rests the very doctrine that the people of the Territories may claim constitutional rights under the Constitution of the United States.

But the general government has not seen fit to base its action with regard to the Territories on the principle contained in the proposition now under examination. One instance from many will illustrate this assertion. In order that the statement of historical facts and legal principles which we present may be authoritative, we shall quote from a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The opinion was delivered by Mr. Justice Wayne in the year 1853: —

"California, or the port of San Francisco, had been conquered by the arms of the United States as early as 1846. Shortly after, the United States had military possession of all Upper California. Early in 1847 the President, as constitutional Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, authorized the military and naval commander of our forces in California to exercise the belligerent rights of a conqueror, and to form a civil government for the conquered country, and to impose duties on imports and tonnage as military contributions for the support of the government, and of the army which had the conquest in possession. . . . . .

"No one can doubt that these orders of the President, and the action of our army and navy commander in California in conformity with them, were according to the law of arms and the rights of conquest, or that they were operative until the ratification and exchange of a treaty of peace. . . . . .

"The territory had been ceded as a conquest, and was to be preserved and governed as such until the sovereignty to which it had passed had legislated for it. That sovereignty was the United States, under the Constitution, by which power had been given to Congress to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, with the power also to admit new States into the Union, with only such limitations as are expressed in the section in which this power is given. The government of which Colonel Mason was

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the executive had its origin in the lawful exercise of a belligerent right over a conquered territory. It had been instituted during the war by the command of the President of the United States. It was the government when the territory was ceded as a conquest, and it did not cease, as a matter of course, or as a necessary consequence of the restoration of peace. The President might have dissolved it by withdrawing the army and navy officers who administered it, but he did not do so. Congress could have put an end to it, but that was not done. . . . . .

"Our conclusion, from what has been said, is, that the civil government of California, organized as it was from a right of conquest, did not cease or become defunct in consequence of the signature of the treaty, or from its ratification. We think it was continued over a ceded conquest, without any violation of the Constitution or laws of the United States, or that, until Congress legislated for it, the duties upon foreign goods imported into San Francisco were legally demanded and lawfully received by Mr. Harrison, the collector of the port, who received his appointment, according to instructions from Washington, from Governor Mason."

The application of these extracts to our argument is obvious. Over a country acquired by conquest a government is instituted, not by the people of that country; not by the people of the United States; not by the Federal Congress; — an arbitrary government, not republican in form, established by the word of a military and naval commander-in-chief, by whom naval and military officers are constituted its chief magistrates. This government exists even after the total surrender of the territory by treaty, and its complete incorporation into the territorial possessions of the United States; it exists, although many citizens of the United States have become inhabitants of the country under its jurisdiction; it exists, notwithstanding its very officers are citizens of the United States; and it is declared by the highest tribunal in the land to have continued to exist "over a ceded conquest, without any violation of the Constitution or laws of the United States."

Assuming that the Constitution is extended over a new territory, either by conquest, cession by treaty, or the migra-

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tion of American citizens, it would be somewhat difficult to explain how such a state of facts as that set forth above could legally come into existence and be continued.

The Federal Constitution declares that Congress shall have power "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization." Nowhere does a grant of power enjoin more plainly or surely the duty of exercising it than in this instance. From the very nature of the case this power is exclusively vested in Congress, as was more than once decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, Chief Justice Marshall presiding. Nothing could be more opposed to the nature of our institutions, the promotion of our best interests, and our real and professed policy, than to close our doors against all foreigners, and by law declare that, from the period of the nation's birth forever, none should enjoy the blessings of our government but those who were citizens at the time the Constitution was adopted and their descendants born in the country. Nothing, on the other hand, could be more mischievous or more destructive to the very existence of a nation, than unrestricted liberty to persons of every nation to come into the body politic at once, and from the very moment of their arrival in the country to participate in all the rights and privileges enjoyed by citizens. Citizenship could never survive such a state of things.

Naturalization laws offer the only medium between these two extremes; they allow foreigners to become citizens upon certain well-considered and reasonable conditions. No proposition, therefore, would seem to be plainer, than that it is the duty of those in whom the power is vested to make such rules of naturalization. Nor would anything seem to be more obvious, than that these rules must not only be uniform, but coextensive with the Constitution. It would be folly indeed to attempt to prove that the provisions of an instrument, unless expressly restrained in their operation, must be authoritative wherever the instrument possesses authority. It were to argue that the members of the human body, unless severed from the trunk, go with a man wherever he goes.

Yet the political rights of people in the Territories are not in any respect regulated by the naturalization laws passed by Congress under the authority of the Constitution. On the

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contrary, the enjoyment of those rights is granted to foreigners at the discretion of Congress, or of the Territorial governments. Very recently, in the year 1857, in the Territory of Kansas, under the administration of President Buchanan, the only qualification requisite to secure the privilege of voting on political questions of the utmost interest and importance was the assurance that the voter was an inhabitant of that Territory at the instant of offering his vote, and had paid a tax of one dollar.

The Constitution provides, that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior."

If the Constitution extends over the Territories, it would seem that the judges, appointed for the Territories by the general government, must serve under the Constitution; in which case their term of office would continue during good behavior, or for life. Yet in the Territories of Minnesota, Oregon, Washington, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, and Utah, the judges have been appointed for a limited term of only four years, and in some instances they have been removed at pleasure by the President.

The Constitution says that "new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." "This Union" would seem plainly to be the community of sovereign States, bound together by no treaty, no articles of confederation, but only by the Constitution, — a community whose extent and boundaries are alone defined by that instrument. For, manifestly, a state, with an organization precisely similar to that of any one of the United States, may exist in any country out of the Union; so that it is not the character of the government which in all cases defines the Union. This Union must therefore be the aggregate of the separate political societies combined under the Federal Constitution. No provision is made in the Constitution itself, by which any separate political community shall be under its authority and protection, without being a member of the Union.

All the members of the Union are of equal rank; the Con-

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stitution makes them so; it invariably speaks of them as States; the preservation of equality of rank and privilege among the States was one of its chief aims. Members of the Union cannot exist under the Constitution, and be deprived of the essential rights and privileges which were originally made common to all. If it could exist, such a state of things would endanger the "domestic tranquillity," to insure which, among other things, the Constitution was expressly established.

If Territories are under the Constitution, it would seem that they must be members of the Union, without the full rank and right of members. But this cannot be, as the very proposition is self-contradictory.

If they are under the Constitution, not as members of the Union, but as Territories, we know not by what authority. Surely not by that of the Constitution, for they are only mentioned or referred to in the clauses which empower Congress to exercise exclusive legislation in all places acquired for public purposes by cession of particular States, and to "dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States"; surely not by the authority of Congress, which has never made the attempt by express enactment to extend the Constitution to the Territories, and which must utterly fail in such attempt for want of authority, and from the nature of the case, as has been shown already; surely not by the people of the United States, who are as impotent in this respect as Congress, and quite as inactive; and surely not by the people of the Territories, for they have never, as inhabitants of the Territories, adopted the Constitution of the United States. Nor have they the power to do so if they would; for no provision is made in that instrument for the admission of Territories, as Territories, into the Union; they can come in only as States.

But if the Territories are under the Constitution, that is, in the Union as Territories, nothing in the Constitution provides for their transformation into States. This transformation can only be affected by their admission into the Union, which, on the supposition upon which we are reasoning, can never occur; for a thing cannot be admitted into a place which it already occupies, — a person cannot be admitted into a community of

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which he is already a member. Neither is there any provision in the Constitution which prohibits to the Territories the enjoyment of a full representation in both houses of Congress, such as the States enjoy. If the Territories were regarded as under the Constitution, it would be but reasonable to suppose that, instead of providing for their admission, the Constitution would have provided for their erection into or promotion to the rank of States. It would have been but reasonable to suppose that provision would have been made for the purpose of regulating their representation in the national legislature, and their other political privileges and relations. As no such provision was made, it would appear evident that the meaning and intention of the Federal Constitution was not to recognize anything as under its authority and protection except States, by which it had been formally adopted by express act, or the process of admission into the Union.

Indeed, it would seem, from a survey of the facts and considerations which have been adduced, to be an inevitable conclusion, that the Constitution of the United States does not extend over the Territories, or in any way affect them, except as it may limit the exercise of discretionary power by the general government in regard to them. Congress could not, for instance, establish a monarchical form of government in the Territories, because it would be an act plainly contrary to the spirit of our institutions, of which the Constitution is the basis, and to a rational policy, which imposes on republican governments the duty of fostering republican institutions. Other instances in which the power of the general government, so far as relates to the Territories, would be limited by the letter or spirit of the Constitution, will readily suggest themselves, or easily be discovered.

If, then, the people of the Territories may exercise the sovereign right of legislation, they may do so with greater freedom, or, it might more properly be said, with fewer restrictions, than the people of the States; for the people of the States are controlled in their legislation by the Federal and State Constitutions, while the people of the Territories are subject to no such control.

Whether the inhabitants of the Territories should dictate

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their own municipal institutions is a political question, with which we do not propose to meddle.

Whether they may claim such dictation as a right, is a legal question, and, as such, properly comes within the limits of this examination.

Even were all agreed, as a matter of policy, that the wishes of a majority of the territorial inhabitants should decide the form and character of their institutions, it would be important to know whether they might themselves, of their own right, without permission or sanction, proceed to give effect to their wishes by legislation; or whether the power be in and the duty rest upon Congress to permit such legislation, authorizing or confirming before or after the fact.

It is manifest that a political question cannot be decided by legal principles or judicial decisions.

But Senator Douglas asserts "that the people of the Territories are entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of self-government, in respect to their internal polity, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This assertion raises directly and fairly the legal question stated above, — a question which, if not, strictly speaking, one of constitutional, may yet be called one of political law, embraced in the more comprehensive subject under examination in connection with these doctrines, namely, the relation of the Territories to the general government.

Legislative power is an attribute of sovereignty; sovereignty, the attribute of a nation. Sovereignty is subject to no restrictions except moral and physical impossibilities, and restrictions self-imposed. As has been said before, sovereignty preserves its integrity, however vested; and of necessity, from its nature, its characteristics never change.

The sovereign power in this country, through the appointed means, may "dispose of" territory. If it may dispose of, it may exchange; if it may exchange, it may acquire. In acquiring territory the purpose of a sovereign power is, not to make a speculation and profit out of the soil, but to increase its revenues and strength by an addition of citizens or subjects. Often the soil of the territory acquired is owned entirely by the inhabitants. In such a case, unless a nation

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acquire jurisdiction, — the right to govern, with all its incidents, — it acquires nothing.

Although the sovereignty in this country is vested in the people, it is vested in them in their collective capacity as a nation, and not in their separate capacity as individuals. It is not an aggregate of sovereignties united by an aggregation of individuals; the nation indues the individuals, not the individuals the nation, with sovereignty.

The nation, then, as such, exercises the rights of sovereignty, and wherever the nation is, there sovereignty resides. Its power may be exercised beyond the limits of its residence; its residence may be changed with that of its possessor.

Our sovereignty is like the franchise of a corporation; members in their corporate capacity may exercise it, but are powerless to do so in their individual capacity. Individuals may come in and go out, succeed and abdicate in turn: the franchise remains intact, and unconscious of the changes.

When a person leaves the Union, strictly so called, that is, goes beyond the limits of the States into the Territories, or elsewhere, he loses, during the time of his absence, his corporate rights.

Sovereignty cannot be transferred to the Territories by migration, as is easily shown by arguments drawn from what has been said on a previous page to prove that the Constitution and laws of the United States are not, and cannot be, carried into the Territories by immigrants.

Neither can the immigrant find there sovereignty ready to indue him with sovereign power; because the jurisdiction, the sovereignty of the Territory, is already entirely vested in the nation to which such Territory belongs. For the same reason, he could not exercise there any inherent, inalienable sovereignty, if such there be, of which he might be the possessor.

But if a citizen of a State might carry with him to a Territory all his rights, as such citizen, so that his political power and privileges were neither curtailed nor changed, he could then, at most, but claim the power and have the right to cooperate with the majority of citizens in the States, that is, with the rest of the nation, in the government of the Territory, just as he could have done had he not removed. As has been sug-

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gested, however, it may often happen that a large majority of the inhabitants of a Territory have never been citizens of the United States.

The preceding arguments apply with greater force to the case of a representative government than to that of a pure democracy, where the people legislate, judge, and execute immediately, that is to say, without the intermediate machinery of representation.

In a representative government like that of the United States, the people exercise sovereign power by representation as well in the judicial and executive as in the legislative departments. This fact seems to be too often ignored.

If the people of the Territories, from the nature of our polity, derive the right to exercise the sovereign power of legislation for themselves, they have an equal right, from the same source, to exercise the judicial and executive powers which appertain to sovereignty.

Yet the strongest advocates of the doctrine of popular sovereignty have appointed, or concurred in appointing, judicial and executive officers for the Territories, without the least question as to their authority to act, or the least reference to the wishes of the inhabitants.

If the people of the Territories have the right to legislate, and consequently to exercise the judicial and executive powers for themselves, they must have the right to prepare the means for legislating, judging, and executing; that is, to form a government complete in all its branches.

Therefore it would seem to follow, that if, as is asserted, they may legislate for themselves, the Territories are independent alike of the general government and of each other, and remain so till admitted to the Union.

When admitted to the Union, they must consent to part with a portion of their sovereignty, and to take a republican form of government; but till that time they may choose for themselves.

Such conclusions prove the premises untenable.

Finally, it would seem to be the duty of the general government, appointed by the people to study and forward national interests, to govern the Territories, by granting authority to a

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Territorial Legislature, or such other method as may be most politic, so that those who desire to migrate thither may be sure of protection, and thus encouraged to act as pioneers and increase the national wealth and strength; so that they may have no reason to fear the disorders of an unorganized people attempting to form a government, attempting to prevent the formation of a government, or attempting to misgovern, according to the character of those in influence.

Here we rest from our examination. In our view, slavery is the creature alone of positive law; the Constitution, whether interpreted according to the rules of strict construction, or according to its meaning and intention, is totally deficient in respect to the creative legal energy of such positive law; the laws of the States and of the United States are impotent to extend themselves to the Territories; the existing laws of the United States are powerless to institute and regulate slavery; a recognition of property in slaves by the Federal Constitution is inefficient to produce slavery; the powers of the Constitution, whatever they may be, are of no effect where the Constitution does not extend; the Constitution, as such, is powerless in the Territories; individuals leaving the limits of the States lose the power to exercise sovereign rights; sovereignty rests entire in the nation till voluntarily surrendered, or taken away by force; plenary power to govern the Territories necessarily resides in the national government; the national government is under a sacred obligation to exercise that power.

The theories of Mr. Buchanan and of Mr. Douglas have alike failed to stand the test.

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Art. VI. — THE MESSIAH OF THE JEWS.

1. *Das Buch Henoch.* Uebersetzt und erklärt von Dr. A. Dillmann. Leipzig. 1853.
2. *Die jüdische Apocalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Christenthums nebst einem Anhange über das Gnostische System des Basilides.* Von Dr. A. Hilgenfeld, Prof. der Theol. in Jena. Jena. 1857.

Christianity, as everybody knows, derives its name from the Greek word *Χριστός*. This new word, foreign to the old classical vocabulary, had been expressly coined to correspond as closely as possible with the Hebrew word מָשִׁיחַ, i. e. the Anointed, which originally and for a long time was the common designation of all kings and high-priests, but gradually had become the exclusive title of the king-priest by eminence, the expected Saviour of the nation, the Christ or *Messiah*. And the sum and substance of the early "Evangelium" was essentially and specifically nothing but the "glad tidings" that this Christ or Messiah had come, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is, therefore, a matter of vital importance to have a clear and distinct understanding of what this Hebrew idea of a Messiah was, and whether and how far the Messianic claims set up for Jesus by his early followers, and their rejection by the highest Jewish authorities, were warranted by those prophetic oracles to which they both appealed as to their common tribunal and justification.

What then was this idea of a Messiah?

Eros or Love — so the Platonic Socrates was taught by the prophetess Diotima — is the offspring of a mixed parentage, his father being indeed a god, and, as his name (Plutos) indicates, extremely rich, but his mother a mere woman, and poverty itself (Penia); and it is this descent from a mortal and an immortal, from a rich god and a poor woman, which accounts for the strange and contradictory peculiarities of their son, who is at once a beggar and a prodigal, a coward and a hero, rough-looking and tender-hearted, homely himself but the lover of every beauty.

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As the offspring of a similar mixed parentage, and endowed with a similar disparity of predicates, we must consider the Jewish idea of a Messiah. In it, too, we can recognize a mixture of the heavenly and the earthly, — of the spiritual and the fleshly, — of the absolute, universal, and eternal, and the merely temporal, national, and accidental.

It is of the highest importance to get a thorough insight into the respective nature of these various elements, in order to avoid a confusion of ideas which has been the source of incalculable error in Church, state, and theology, from the earliest days of Christianity down to the present.

How did this idea of a Messiah originate? — The wish and hope for happier days to come, — for a better future, when justice and goodness and freedom shall reign upon earth, — is more or less deeply seated in every human breast. We find the expression of it, connected or not connected with any particular individuality, in the religious beliefs of various nations; but in the Hebrew people there were peculiar agencies which tended to form and develop this hope, and give it a specifically national character.

It had been the great and patriotic idea of that sublime genius, Moses, to unite the twelve hitherto divided tribes of Israel into one great brotherhood; to give them an independent position among the nations of the earth; to keep them free from every human yoke, by making them the servants of an invisible and heavenly King; to inspire them with the proud consciousness that they were no longer — what they had been considered in Egypt — an unclean and inferior race, but a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation.

But this great idea was never fully realized; and for the very reason that it was so great. For hundreds of years the slaves of an idolatrous nation, and even after their exodus from the house of bondage continuing to live in the midst of idolatrous nations, this people became idolatrous also. Their rulers, instead of considering themselves, in the spirit of Moses, the servants and earthly representatives of the invisible King, claimed the honor and obedience due to the latter for themselves, and became despots; the priests, if they did not give up the One God in name, gave him up in substance, making the mere

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symbols, the temple, the sacrifices, fasting, circumcision, the letter of the law, to take the place of the realities of the spirit, and thus became idolaters *within* the temple, no better than those whom they cursed as being without.

But the Spirit of God that had lived in Moses did not entirely depart from his people. It lived on in an almost unbroken succession of men, who, though none of them ever reached up to his gigantic proportions, still possessed a portion of his power, and who devoted it to the defending and continuing of his work. These men were the *Prophets*, the living embodiments of the spirit of Theocracy, the personified religious conscience of the nation, the tribunes not so much of the people as of the Lord himself. In them the exalted ideal of Moses still lived on, and the inextinguishable faith that it *must*, and the hope that sooner or later it *would* be realized.

But when and how? — This was the question that distressed them. The people of Israel, such as it then was, divided, enslaved, sunk in idolatry and beastliness, with cruel, selfish kings and hypocritical priests, — this people surely cannot be that peculiar treasure of the Lord, that kingdom of priests, that holy nation, which the great lawgiver meant it should be. They must first be roused from the drunken sleep of sensuality, tried and sifted, before they will be able to realize their ideal self. A day of trial, a day of purification, is the indispensable condition of the moral and political redemption of the nation. This time of purgatorial affliction, the prophetic language designates as "the day of the Lord."

Terrible is the day of the Lord. A day of wrath is that day, — a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasting and desolation, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of trumpets and alarm. On that day, the lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the Lord alone shall be exalted. "On that day, a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold to the moles and the bats, and enter into the clefts of the rocks and hide himself in the dust, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty. Neither silver nor gold shall avail the sinners to deliver them from the Lord's wrath. The whole land shall be

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devoured by the fire of his jealousy, and he shall make a speedy riddance of all that dwell in the land." (See Isaiah ii.; Zephaniah i.)

But when these fearful threats were actually realized, perhaps in a more literal sense than the prophets themselves had wished or expected, when first the northern kingdom of Israel fell, and its ten tribes were carried away captive by the Assyrians, when humiliation after humiliation fell upon the kingdom of Judah, when its king and nobility were, in their turn, led into captivity, when the sacred city and the holy temple were destroyed, and when every star of hope seemed utterly extinct, — then, pity contending with hatred and overcoming in the prophets' breast, they poured oil into the wounds their own words had made, and in the place of the threats which had been only too terribly realized, they now uttered words of the most comforting cheer and the most encouraging promise. "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she hath received of the Lord's hands double for all she has lost."

It is in these days of fearful calamity, of crushing affliction, of seemingly hopeless prostration, that the hope which had always lived in the hearts of the faithful, and had long ago found utterance from prophetic lips, spoke with the tones of firmest confidence, and the most unshakable conviction: "Despair not, O despair not, my afflicted people! — the Lord has afflicted you, but he has not forsaken you, he has chastised you sorely, but only because he loved you so much. Say not, O Zion, the Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, but I will not forget thee. For a short moment have I forsaken thee, but with great kindness will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, thus saith the Lord thy redeemer. As I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee nor rebuke thee.

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For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed. For thy Creator is thy husband, the Lord of hosts is his name; thy redeemer is the Holy One of Israel, God of the whole earth is he called."

If any one wants to know what love is, — love undying, love of a patriot for his country, love of a mother for her child, love of God for man, — let him read those glorious chapters of the most eloquent of prophetic writers (the great unknown author of Isaiah xl.–lx.), and blush at the same time for that theology whose idea of God, when compared with that of the old Hebrew, appears, indeed, far less human, but surely not because it is more divine.

From the depth and fulness of their love for their fallen but still cherished people, from the strength of their faith — unshaken by all appearances to the contrary — in the glorious future of Israel and the mercy of their God, the great patriotic hearts uttered those prophecies which are designated by the generic name of *Messianic*. These prophecies, such as we find them scattered through the whole prophetic literature, — which, from the oldest, Joel, down to the latest, Malachi, extends over a space of four or five hundred years, — of course vary much in their character, according to the times and the individualities of the prophets; but all have this common central promise, that the realization of the great idea of Moses, so long deferred, shall at last be accomplished, and Israel shall be a kingdom of God upon this earth.

Let us now gather into one focus all the rays of Messianic hope, as we find them scattered through the writings of the various prophets, and try to form out of the traits furnished by each one whole picture of the Messianic kingdom.

There will come a time when all the dispersed and oppressed children of Israel will return from their various and distant places of captivity to the country of their fathers, from which at no time shall they again be driven out. Then there shall be no longer a North and a South, a kingdom of Israel and a kingdom of Judah, but all the twelve tribes shall be again united into one kingdom, and the capital of this united kingdom shall again be Jerusalem, which will stand for ever, the

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beauty and glory of the world. Then shall there be no longer any idols and idol-worship in the land; but all shall worship but one God, even the Lord, not only with lip service, with fastings and sacrifices, but with a true worship of the heart. Yea, even the heathen shall acknowledge the God of Israel, and come up from year to year to worship him in his temple at Jerusalem, and to keep the feast of tabernacles; and the temple shall be a house of prayer for all nations. Then a universal peace shall reign upon earth; swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they any more war. And this happy change shall extend even to the animal creation, for the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them.

Then, in this blessed time, the fallen throne of David shall again be restored, and upon it shall sit a descendant of his, who like his ancestor shall govern in the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth. He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the cincture of his reins. To him above all others shall be given the name which had hitherto been the common designation of all kings and high-priests; he shall be called by eminence "the Anointed," that is, the *Messiah*.

As we said above, the various prophets do by no means fully agree in their prophecies respecting the Messianic age, neither do the individual prophets invariably adhere to the same standard; but at different periods of their life the descriptions they give are different. So, for instance, — and this is a very remarkable circumstance, — do quite a number of the prophets, Joel, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, make no mention whatever of a Messiah, and we are left in utter un-

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certainty whether they connected the realization of the Messianic hope at all with a distinct individuality. Others, like Malachi, only speak of a great prophet, who before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord shall be sent to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers.

Again, from the expressions of some of the prophets, we might be led to believe that the expected Messiah was to be David himself (see Ezekiel xxvii. 24); from others, that he is to live forever; while again others speak of sons of his as his successors. Again, the Messiah is in most places spoken of as a prince of peace, whereas in others he is represented as the conqueror of Edom and Philistia, and even of Assyria. Most prophecies represent his reign as undisturbed by any attack from foreign nations. Ezekiel speaks of an invasion of Gog and Magog. But notwithstanding these variations, there is one main body of Messianic hopes common to all, and the idea of a personal Messiah, first and most emphatically expressed by Isaiah, ever after continued to be its centre.

But when shall this much-needed, much-yearned-for Messiah come? when shall be the blessed time of his kingdom? With regard to this important point, the prophecies are far from being very definite or concordant. As a general thing, we must believe that the prophets expected it at no very distant time from their own, and connected it with the return of the people from the captivity.

That these pious and patriotic hopes were never fulfilled, at least never according to their full and literal import, is sufficiently evident from the history of the nation, subsequent to the Babylonish captivity. Assyria, the destroyer of the northern kingdom of Israel, was indeed in its turn destroyed; but the ten tribes that had been carried away never returned, nor was the Assyrian empire destroyed, as Micah had prophesied, by the promised glorious king of Judah, but by a foe who was to prove even more dangerous to Judah than Assyria, namely, by the Chaldæans, who, a short time afterwards, likewise destroyed Judah, Jerusalem, and the temple.

The Chaldæan yoke was broken at last, though not by a hero of the family of David, but by a foreign conqueror, Cyrus the

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Persian. The captives of Judah were allowed to return to their country, but only very few availed themselves of the permission. Zerubbabel, who led them back, was indeed of the family of David, and was hailed as Messiah by some contemporary prophets like Haggai and Zechariah; but how different from the hoped-for mighty king, of whose power and glory Isaiah had given so glowing a description! The returned Jews recovered indeed some kind of national existence under the government of their high-priests, but the *kingdom* of Judah was not restored, and the Jews remained, as they had been, subject to a foreign ruler. Gradually even the prophetic spirit itself seemed to depart from this unhappy people, — driven away by idolatrous reverence for the letter of the law and traditional ordinances, — and the prophets gave way to scribes (γραμματεῖς) and rulers of synagogues.

They were sad and dreary times, those two hundred years of the Persian dominion. Sad and dreary not so much on account of any particular oppression exercised by the Persians against the Jews; — on the contrary, the Persians were rather tolerant and liberal towards the nations they had conquered, allowing them to live after their own customs and worship, provided they acknowledged the king as their sovereign, and continued to pay the tribute; — but sad and dreary for those whose hearts still clung to the promises of the prophets, and who saw their fulfilment ever farther postponed to an indefinite future. To the heart impatient for freedom the peace of despotism is the most intolerable oppression, and outward prosperity appears like an insult when offered as a compensation for the loss of the highest good. Two hundred years! and yet no step nearer the kingdom, the long-yearned-for glorious kingdom, which, according to the comforting promises of the prophets, was to commence immediately upon the fall of Babylon.

Jeremiah's prophecy, that after "seventy years" the Babylonish captivity should be ended, had indeed been fulfilled; but what had become of those other prophecies whose fulfilment was to take place at the same time? Where was the independence of the nation? where the ten tribes? where the united kingdom? where the king himself? Two hundred

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years of disappointment,— a period long enough to try the faith of even the most faithful; what wonder that many whose faith was less strong fell into utter unbelief? To what depth of despondency many a heart could sink, we may see from that saddest of sad books, written probably about this time, the *Koheleth* or Ecclesiastes. "Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new! The thing that hath been, it is also that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the sun. Vanity of vanity, saith the Preacher; vanity of vanity, *all* is vanity."

At last, after two hundred years, the long-yearned-for change took place, but without any benefits to the Jews. The Persian monarchy was indeed overthrown, but only to give way to a new foreign dominion, viz. the Grecian, under the youthful conqueror of Macedonia. After Alexander's early death, his generals divided his monarchy among themselves, and Judæa became part of the spoils. It first fell to the lot of Ptolemy, the new Greek king of Egypt, under whom it spent eighty years of comparative quiet; then, after having repeatedly passed from one hand to another, it at last remained with Syria.

In the year 175 B. C. Antiochus Epiphanes took possession of the throne left vacant by the assassination of his brother Seleucus. And now commenced a series of evil days for the Jews such as they had not had since Nebuchadnezzar. This Antiochus, a man of resolute character, a great admirer of the Romans, determined to put down the Jews, whom he looked upon as a superstitious, barbarous, intolerant race, and as most intractable and rebellious subjects. Irritated by the resistance which he met with, he gave orders that the temple service should be discontinued, that all books of the law should be burned, that circumcision should be abolished, that all Jews should labor on the Sabbath, that they should sacrifice to heathen gods and eat swine's flesh and flesh offered in sacrifice to idols, and that whoever should refuse obedience should be put to a horrible death. The commands of the king were executed with fearful severity. Hundreds of martyrs paid with their life their fidelity to the religion of their fathers.

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The temple of the Lord was profaned by the riotous and lascivious rites of Pagan worship; swine's blood stained the Holy of Holies, and over the great altar where the daily sacrifice had hitherto ascended to the God of Israel, another altar was erected, dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter. Antiochus boasted that he had put an end to Mosaism, and conquered the God of the Jews.

In this time of darkest night and most crushing oppression, when it really seemed as if the audacious boast of the heathen tyrant had been fulfilled, there was suddenly heard, as it were, a voice from the other world, which, in awfully mysterious, but, to the yearning hearts of the faithful, sufficiently intelligible words, proclaimed, that the end of tyranny was approaching, that the day of judgment was at hand. We allude to that wonderful production of patriotic and theocratic inspiration, the *Book of Daniel*, which appeared during this period, and which forms an era in the history of Jewish literature.

The time had long since ceased when the spirit of God had spoken through the mouth of living prophets. Two hundred years, at least, had passed, since the last word had been uttered by the last of the prophets; the people had gradually lost their faith in that ever-living inspiration which constitutes the very soul of Prophecy; they had fallen into the habit of looking for divine truth only in the written oracles of former prophets, as they were then already collected or being collected into a canon of the Old Testament, and no word, not even the divinest, was likely to be recognized, unless it had the stamp of a scriptural authority. The writer of the book then accommodated himself to the narrowness of the circumstances, and, instead of speaking in his own name, he selected as the medium of his inspired communication the person of the ancient and much revered prophet Daniel, who for hundreds of years had been proverbial for his profound spiritual insight, and his unshaken fidelity to the commandments of the God of Israel, in the midst of the most tyrannous foreign oppression.

In adopting this frame for the prophetic pictures which he was to set before the eyes of his countrymen, the author com-

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mitted many historical mistakes regarding the time and circumstances under which the prophet Daniel had lived. He represents him as having been carried into captivity when still a boy, together with King Jehoiakim, that is, about 597 B. C., by Nebuchadnezzar; but Ezekiel, who was carried away about the same time, and who was then at least a young man, already speaks of Daniel as an ancient and renowned character, whom he puts side by side with Job and Noah; and all evidences go to prove that the historical Daniel must have been among the captives of Israel carried away, one hundred and thirty years before, by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. The author, again, confounds the Tigris with the Euphrates; he represents Babylon as conquered by Darius the Median, whereas it was conquered by Cyrus the Persian; and he makes this Darius the Median — that is, Cyaxares, who reigned from 633 to 593 — a son of Ahasuerus, or Xerxes, who lived over a hundred years after him. He calls the last of the Babylonian kings Belshazzar, whereas his name was Nabonetos, and makes him the son and immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar, whereas we know that Nebuchadnezzar's son was Evil-merodach, and that there were still two other kings after him, Neriglissar and Nabonetos, who, for the twenty-one years previous to the fall of the city (in 538) occupied the throne of Babylon.

In the time of our author, the distant ages of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires were often confounded, of which we have a striking example in more than one book of the later Jewish period (see, for instance, the book of Judith), and Assyria was called Babylon, and Babylon Assyria. Our author's knowledge of the ancient history of foreign nations was not more imperfect than that of most of his contemporaries, and his mistakes, unperceived as they were, did not in the least weaken the general faith in the Danielic origin of the book. Its effect was instantaneous and electric. The breath of its uncompromising Theocratism soon blew the spark of revolt, already kindled in the breasts of the heroic Maccabees, into a mighty conflagration.

Apart from its national and religious character, the book is exceedingly interesting in a literary point of view, as the first

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production of what is called the *Apocalyptic Literature* of the Jews.

This apocalyptic literature is of immense importance for the student of early Christianity, as the ideas which it embodies probably exercised a deeper influence upon the popular mind of the Jews at the time of Jesus, and immediately before and after, than any other. Next to the Pentateuch, no part of the Old Testament was held in so high estimation, or was so frequently read, as the Book of Daniel, although it was the very latest work that was received into the canon, and in the Hebrew Bible has its place only among the Hagiographa, not among the Prophets. The place which it has in our Bible was assigned to it 400 years after Christ, by Jerome, the author of the Latin translation.

The specific characteristics of these Apocalypses, and those which distinguish them most from the prophetic writings, consist in this: — they deal not in direct exhortation, as the latter do; the author never comes forward in his own person, but speaks through the character of another, a great and holy man of the past, like Daniel, or Isaiah, or Enoch, or Ezra; the form of symbolical representation, which the prophets only occasionally use, is used by them constantly; the symbols and visions which they contain have exclusive reference to the Messiah and his kingdom. Instead of merely prophesying about the latter, they describe it in symbolic pictures; they not merely say what is to come, but they lift the curtain of the future and unveil it, — and hence the name Ἀποκάλυψις, i. e. Unveiling, or *Revelation.*

The Book of Daniel, then, contains a series of visions, in which the history of the various great heathen monarchies that successively ruled the world and oppressed Israel is symbolically represented, together with the overthrow of them by a new kingdom, — that of the Jews and the Messiah.

One of the visions is that of a great image, the head of which is of fine gold, the breast and arms silver, the belly and thighs brass, the legs iron, the feet part iron and part clay. A stone is cut out without hands and smites the image upon its feet, so that the whole image falls to pieces and becomes like chaff carried away by the wind; but the stone that smote

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the image becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth. The great image, we learn, is the symbol of heathen dominion in general, the various parts of it the different heathen monarchies that had ruled over and oppressed Israel;—the head the Babylonian, the breast and arms the Median, the belly and thighs the Persian, and the lower extremities the Macedonian, first in its strength under Alexander, and then in its weakness and divided condition under his successors. The stone that destroys all the heathen powers is the kingdom of the Messiah, which will extend over the whole earth.

In the Book of Daniel, then, we have a new phasis in the development of the Messianic idea, which differs considerably from that which we find in the old prophets. The kingdom of the Messiah is no longer confined within the boundaries of Palestine; it is no longer a mere kingdom of Israel, but a *universal monarchy*, equal, and even superior, to the four great monarchies that had preceded it, the Chaldæan, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian. It is probably owing to a similar confusion of dim historic recollections that the name of the *Assyrians* is here omitted, and that the Medes are mentioned in their place, who never ruled over Israel at all. The Messiah himself is no longer presented to us as a son of David; his descent from the royal family of Judah is entirely left out of view; he is no longer expected to come from Bethlehem Ephrata, but, with the clouds of heaven, from above; he is no longer a mere man, but has only the likeness of one, and he must be immortal, since his dominion is said to be one without end.

With regard to the time when this everlasting kingdom of the Messiah shall be established, we have the definite specification that it shall be immediately upon the downfall of Antiochus Epiphanes, which downfall is to take place three and a half years after the suppression of the temple worship. But alas for the hopes of the faithful! Their trials were not yet at an end. For even this prophecy, to which they clung more fervently than to any previous one, was destined not to be fulfilled. It proved indeed true, that, three and a half years (that is the meaning of the Apocalyptic "time and times and half a time") after the profanation of the temple, the victori-

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ous Judas the Maccabee again purified the sanctuary. Antiochus died a short time after, and twenty years later Simon, a brother of Judas, succeeded in securing the independence of the country and making himself king, — the first time that Judæa had had a prince of her own since the days of Nebuchadnezzar. But still how far, how infinitely far behind the hoped-for glories of the Messianic kingdom were these partial fulfilments! how unsatisfactory to the high-wrought expectations which the visions of the seers had raised in their breasts!

But further trials came, further disappointments! The Græco-Syrian monarchy, whose fall Daniel had foretold as something that was to take place under Antiochus Epiphanes, was indeed overthrown about one hundred years afterwards; yet not by a Messiah of Israel, but by the Roman general Pompeius; and soon Judæa herself lost her independence, and became a province of the empire of Rome.

But with childlike faith, and with the tenacity so characteristic of the nation, they still hoped on, — hoped against hope; and as a fruit of this hope we have to consider that remarkable book, — the second in the order of apocalyptic productions, — the *Book of Enoch*.

As we have already given a detailed account of the history and the contents of this book in our article on the Devil, in the May number of the Examiner, we shall confine ourselves here to the passages which have a direct bearing on the subject before us.

In the second part of the book, which most probably was written about the year 60 before Christ, the antediluvian patriarch is introduced as having the following vision: —

"And there I saw one who had a Head of Ages, and his hair was white as wool; and with him there was another one, whose likeness was like the likeness of a man, and his face was full of sweetness like one of the holy angels. And I asked one of the angels who was with me, and who showed me all hidden things concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he came, and why he went with the Head of Ages. And he answered and said, This is the *Son of Man*, in whom righteousness dwells, and who reveals all the treasures of the hidden

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things, seeing that the Lord of the Spirits hath chosen him, because he excelled in righteousness. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen will startle the kings and the mighty ones from their beds; he will loose the chains of the tyrants, and break the teeth of the wicked. He will cast the kings from their thrones, and drive them out of their kingdoms, because they did not exalt him, and did not acknowledge with thanks Him from whom they received their power. . . . . .

"And then I saw the Head of Ages sit down upon his throne of glory, and the books of the living were opened before him, and the whole host of heaven stood round about him. In that hour the Son of Man was called before the Lord of the Spirits, with name was he called before the Head of Ages. For he was chosen and hidden in secret before the foundation of the world, but has been revealed to the saints by the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits. And he will be a staff for the saints, and an avenger of their blood. And in that day the kings of the earth and the mighty ones will fall down upon their faces before him, and ask his mercy; but they shall be delivered into the hands of the angels, and be cast into fire, because they have tortured the saints, and denied the Lord of the Spirit and his Anointed."

In this remarkable passage we find the Messianic idea carried again a step farther. It is no longer *after* the judgment over the tyrants of earth that the Son of Man is brought before the throne of the Ancient of Days; but, though the latter, that is, God, remains the sole judge, the Son of Man is charged with the execution of the judgment. And we are no longer left in uncertainty whence he comes with the clouds of heaven, but we know that he *is* in heaven, *was* in heaven, chosen and hidden before the foundation of the world, and that already now he has upon earth a *chosen congregation*, of such as believe in him though hidden, and who will be glorified with him when he shall become manifest.

But still one question was left unanswered by the visions of Enoch, namely, the very important question concerning the time when this manifestation of the hidden Son of Man shall take place. This answer another apocalyptic work attempts to give, the so-called *Fourth Book of Ezra*. That also con-

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tains a series of visions, represented to have been seen by Ezra, who lived about three hundred years before the book was written, and who, in the estimation of the later Jews, held a place not much inferior to the alleged authors of the other Apocalypses, Daniel and Enoch. This Book of Ezra is of particular interest and importance, as it gives us the very last form which the Messianic idea had assumed previous to the advent of Jesus. According to internal evidence, it was written shortly after the battle of Actium, and during the reign of Herod the Great, about twenty-five years before the birth of Christ. In the principal vision of this book, Ezra is represented as having a dream, in which he sees an eagle coming up from the sea, with twelve feathered wings and three heads. This eagle spreads her wings over all the earth, and reigns over all the dwellers thereon. Each of the feathers of the eagle rises in succession and reigns; then, after a while, falls off and disappears. At last there remain only two little wings; these likewise "think in themselves to reign," but while they are thinking so, "behold! there awakes one of the three heads that had hitherto been asleep, namely, that which was in the midst, and, in conjunction with the other two heads, eats up the little wings. This middle head now takes the governance of the world, and rules with more power than any of the wings had done before, when suddenly it disappears. Then the two remaining heads rule jointly over the earth and its inhabitants; but at last the head which is on the right side devours that which is on the left. Then there appears a roaring lion, who with a man's voice reproaches the eagle — which, with a reference to the visions of Daniel, is here called the fourth beast — with her tyranny and cruelty, and announces her approaching destruction. And sure enough, the head that yet remained instantly disappears, and the whole eagle is consumed with fire.

The eagle is the last heathen empire, the *Roman;* the middle head is Julius Cæsar, the left one Marc Antony, and the right one, that remained longest, Octavianus or Augustus. And the *lion*, who shall destroy him, and with him his empire, is the *Messiah*, whom the Most High has kept to the last for the execution of his righteous judgments.

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During the reign of the Emperor Augustus, then, the Messiah and his kingdom shall come.

Another passage of the book gives the same date in another way. Enoch asks the angel, "What will be the end of the present world, and what the beginning of the future?" and receives the answer: "The end of the present world will be *Esau*, and the beginning of the future world *Jacob*." Now Esau was the same name as Edom, and the then reigning king of Judah, Herod the Great, was an Edomite, and consequently a son of Esau. The Messiah, then, is to come during the lifetime of King Herod and the Emperor Augustus.

These, then, were the expectations that prevailed in the pious hearts of the faithful, a few years previous to the Christian era. Now he must come, surely, he must come, — the long-promised, long-yearned-for hope of Israel.

Shall these hopes again be disappointed? Shall the most tried patience of the saints be tried much more? Shall the childlike trust in the divine prophecies continue to be a mockery and a by-word in the mouth of the scorner and infidel? "O Lord God of our fathers, gracious and merciful, all thy words, we know, are faithful and true, and thy promises, Yea and Amen; but consider our weakness of faith, and shortness of life, and let us not pass away without having the salvation of our people and the coming of thy Holy One." Such prayers, no doubt, were rising from thousands and thousands of hearts, — when suddenly the air, pregnant with expectation, is startled by a voice from the banks of Jordan, crying, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" And soon after, first in faint whispers of doubtful joy, then in mighty shouts of triumphant exultation, the cry goes forth: "He has come, he has come! Hosanna to the son of David! Hosanna in the highest!"

Was it a false alarm? Was it a true report? Had he indeed come, the conquering Lion of Judah, that was to destroy the mighty eagle of Rome, — the victorious king, the liberator of enslaved Israel, and the restorer of the ancient glories of David's throne? Had he indeed come in the clouds of heaven, with the host of heavenly companions, the wonderful *Son of*

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Man, to whom the Ancient of Days was to give dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth, — a dominion that shall have no end? Or was it not so? Was it not he whom they expected, but had God, in his unsearchable wisdom and unfathomable love, given them something far better than they had asked for, something more glorious than they had conceived of, — a Messiah indeed, but a Messiah compared with whom the Messiah of prophets and seers was merely as the shadow compared with the substance, — the earthly symbol of a heavenly truth?

ART. VII. — NOVELS OF 1859.

1. *The Virginians.* By W. M. THACKERAY. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.
2. *Adam Bede.* By GEORGE ELIOT. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.
3. *Love me Little, Love me Long.* By CHARLES READE. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.
4. *The Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn.* By HENRY KINGSLEY. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859.
5. *The Minister's Wooing.* By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. New York: Derby and Jackson. 1859.
6. *A Life for a Life.* By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.
7. *The Queen of Hearts.* By WILKIE COLLINS. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.

NOVEL-READING may be misused, but argument for or against it is quite out-worn and superfluous. The great supply which the last year furnished only proves the demand. In Mr. Carlyle's phrase, "the all-devouring fact" itself has eaten up and quite ended the old palaver of fine objections to it, and of fine defences of it. Even strait-laced precisians cease crying out against it, since they have found theologists in good sectarian standing and moralizers of respectable repute taking fiction into service, and, in the interest of set beliefs or conventional precepts, producing many so-called — Heaven save the mark!

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— "religious" novels. The shelves of the bookstores, newspaper advertisements, and the shrill hawkers in railway cars, make it plain that people will have their literary "cakes and ale," though virtuous Mr. Cumming forebode the "Great Tribulation," and virtuous Mr. Spurgeon print his Surrey and sorry sermons.

Our long list gives only a few of the many novels of the year just ended. It was emphatically a novel-writing year, and we hold it a good sign of the times that so many of its fictions are of such excellent quality. For them a just audit must certainly place to the credit of 1859 a good deal of genial and innocent amusement, but also not a little impulse to gentle manners and right living.

These novels in our list have little likeness one to another. Their titles here are the *carte* of an ample feast of multiform dishes and various flavors. Its guests are better off than the Cambridge students in Milton's time, who hired horses of stabler Hobson, and must ride by his "choice" of "this or none." Each may please himself, and he must be truly dull or difficult who cannot find at table something pleasant or satisfying.

It is a wide variety indeed of scenery, incident, personage, conduct, event, and character which is presented in these books. Here are Australian wildernesses, plantations of the Old Dominion, streets of London, and homes of New and Old England; — the fervors and enthusiasms of early Methodism, the primness and desolation of Calvinism, the spiritual destitution of heartless secularism, and the ample wealth and beauty to the soul of religion "pure and undefiled;" — Indian fights, bush-ranger raids, the mean contests of fashionable society, and the conflicts, defeats, and triumphs of tempted souls; — yeoman sturdiness, worldling cynicism, true manhood's vigor and true womanhood's tenderness, the generous blood of real nobles and the thin current which flows in the veins of hereditary and king-made nobility; — the great George of America and the little Georges of England, upright Franklin and creeping Burr, Tory Dr. Johnson and Republican Dr. Hopkins, — with a great crowd of men and women, creatures of the fancy, fulfilling multiform conditions of character and life, good and

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bad, wise and foolish, witty and dull, young and old, rich and poor, faithfully reproducing in little the great vicissitude of humanity. A glimpse, this, or phantasm of variable human thought, sentiment, conduct, and fate, a sketch of the great movement of the world, the pictured suggestion of this real life, of which a single day's record, could it be detained, caught from the "eternal blazon" to our eyes, would show wonders upon wonders, heights and depths, fair beatitude and startling terror, the surpassing show of nature and truth not matched by any, the finest mimicry of art and fiction.

Here are many goodly and familiar names on the title-pages, — Thackeray leading off by right of genius. His "Virginians," though it may not quite bear comparison with "Vanity Fair" and "Henry Esmond" for careful artistic construction and finish, seeming in part made to order by a careless hand and tired mind, does in the main bear out the prestige of that name which is, on the whole, the highest among English novelists of the present time. They say that he repeats himself, — a commonplace criticism. Let him do so, as long as he continues telling, with his admirable humor and charming style, the story of the follies of worldliness and the worth of rectitude and a genuine life.

The fortunes of the "Virginians," lying both in the Old Dominion and across the water, form the centre around which is set off a moving, shifting picture of colonial and old-country life. The manners of the time and the humors of its people are held up with a faithfulness of detail which only patient search into that long-past domestic and social life could have secured. The marks of student-like work appear all along the text, and even in the queer and entertaining illustrations which adorn it. Mere sketches as these are, and often very ill-drawn, we would not spare them, for their quaint restoration of the old manners, dress, and places, but more for the sober truth which seems to hide under their funny grotesqueness, yet only the more to show itself, — "se cupit ante videri." These rude things of initial letters and sketchy pen-and-ink work take something of the dignity of symbols, to those who detect the sad intention in their laughing, mocking look. And this lurking, truth-telling humor of theirs is a type of the

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book, whose interest and value do not so much rest in faithful portraiture of the externals of the old time, as in the capital truthfulness of its display of the minds and hearts of men and women in those days, and so, measurably, of people in every period of time. In this faithfulness of the revelation of interior life in outward conduct is marked the quality of Thackeray's genius. His insight of the action within conduct, and its admirable expression, give him his eminence among novelists. Allied with graceful fancy or mighty imagination, and working in the dramatic form, this penetration brings forth Miranda or Othello. In Thackeray, as the ally and friend of a most quick and responsive humor, it makes us acquainted with the fortunes and tempers of Thomas Newcomb, Becky Sharpe, Colonel Lambert, and Beatrix Esmond.

Rightly to appreciate "The Virginians," or any of its fellow-works of humor, one must read between the lines, and even beneath them. That the writer is a humorist explains the misconception of him and his books, — especially by women, of whom very few look upon him, as he appears in his works, with any fair judgment. Be it remembered, however, that among these few is the name of Charlotte Brontë, "the censure of which one must, in our allowance, o'erweigh a whole theatre of others." We find no cynicism in Thackeray, though his humor, so just, when least gentle, often goes by that name. Is there not a great difference between the smile humorous and the grin sardonic? They who read "The Virginians," carefully because sympathetically, will detect the sadness beneath the smile, the sweet charity under the bitter-looking mask, and the serious purpose which lurks in the playfulness. Mr. Thackeray would certainly have a quip at the Exeter Hall people; yet he too marches under the banner of reform, for the humorist is ever among the best, if not the noisiest reformers. In this last book he well pursues the war against worldling vice and sham, and all social ungenuineness. For prejudiced readers we mark on its pages these words of Theo. Lambert upon George Warrington, as being apt to this writer: "He certainly is of a satirical turn, but then he is only bitter against mean things and people. No gentleman hath a more tender heart, I am sure."

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If the large promise in "Adam Bede" is fulfilled, the story announced as engaged by its writer to Blackwood will be above the common mark of interest and enjoyment. That book was one of the pleasant surprises of the last year of novel-making. It called up the never-failing controversy as to the sex of its unknown author. We remember a French reviewer settled the vexed question by striking the golden mean — so he appeared to regard it — between men and women, and fixing its authorship upon a clergyman. For by his pastoral office he must have, it seemed, a better chance than any for the delicate observation of manners and character which marks the book. The honor of a story so rich in fine qualities would doubtless be gladly accepted by clerics, maugre the dubious, epicene compliment of the Frenchman. But the praise may not rest with them. It is a woman's work, who has thus put forth the best of practical treatises upon her "rights."

This lady's masculine *nom*, "George Eliot," reminds one of that other "George" across the channel from England. But between "Adam Bede" and "Consuelo" there is a wider gulf than the water between the two countries; — works of purpose so different that they can hardly be compared. Yet they may be mentioned together for the sake of a contrast which brings out the distinguishing merit of the Englishwoman's book, — namely, its complete healthiness, the fresh invigoration which breathes through all the sentiment and morale of it. It may be claimed for George Sand's, that it is of higher grade. And the art-novel must be allowed to be of higher pretension than the realistic home-life book of George Eliot. But for that pleasant interest and calm enjoyment which make true novel-reading delight, we must say that the cool air, rural aspects, and household comfort, where good Mrs. Poyser bustles about the farm-house, and the pleasant fields, parks, and English homesteads which Adam and Seth pass in going to their work, are a better climate and scenery than the soft warmth and golden light, Venetian canals and palaces, where Consuelo brings her genius to the hard discipline, and Zoto yields up his passion to the temptation of art and the art-life.

We hint a likeness of this book to Wilkie's paintings, but it

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is true only in part. It has a relation with and suggests the life-like, *genre* pictures of the artist of "The Blind Fiddler," but its realistic treatment goes deeper than to depict the obvious form of scenery and manners. Careful and loving observation has limned along its pages, in impressive and cheerful incidents and events, the finer realism of that patient love, home-dutifulness, manly energy, and womanly saintliness which make out of all common life real life.

Charles Reade served the good wine first. None of his later works quite bring back the fine flavor of those first companion novels, "Peg Woffington" and "Christie Johnstone." Their matter and style were new and sparkling. The story was interesting, the sentiment wholesome, and the picturesque form most attractive. They delighted with the fresh charm of nature. From their grace, vigor, and completeness there is a great descent to the ill-shapen carelessness of this "Love me Little, Love me Long." The title is a catchword, and contrivance and artifice seem to flow from it all along to the end of the book. A disagreeable trickster quality vulgarizes the brisk and pleasing vivacity of the writing. The characters, well marked enough and individual, and ever keeping their proper step, voice, and gesture, fail in the interest of reality and lifelikeness. It all seems a sort of puppet-play, and there is no high tone of thought or feeling in the story, nor notable excellence in its telling, to secure deep regard. Its author is sure of his readers, however far he comes short of the mark which he set at first. He has a playwright readiness and mobility, a kind of scene-shifting nimbleness, which must always give his books the welcome and suffrage of those who seek a passing amusement.

"Geoffry Hamlyn" has re-collected his experiences of English village and Australian stock-farm life into a most readable book. A valuable one, too, because every form of literature is worth much, which asserts the power and beauty of the religion which is in deeds and character, not form and profession. Henry Kingsley believes with all his might in the robust, uncloistered piety whose holy exercises are in common duties and daily painstaking in the fear of God. And this honest, hearty, healthy religiousness of a dutiful temper and

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upright life is not tacked to his book by way of set moral and precept, but is diffused through it, and so better carries its wholesome influence. In this he is in the faith of his brother, the better known Rector of Eversley. He shares with him also a belief in the sanity of the body, not only as needful to saneness of mind, but also for the health of the soul. There may be a touch of fanaticism in their amen to Paul's prayer, "that your whole mind and soul and body be kept blameless," in the strong emphasis they give to the last object of the petition, out of their respect for physical perfection. But there is none in their joint statement of Christian living as Christian religion. There can be no question about the virtue and use of the stand they make for the religious practices of fidelity to men and of faith in God, against the stand taken by the High Church in England for hierarchical assumption, and by the Low Church for narrow dogmatism; as if out of such dead timber of form that structure could be raised, to whose building must be brought the "living stones" of the spirit in the characters and lives of men.

Australia has proved a land of treasure to authors as well as to gold-diggers. The rich material is well set forth in these "Recollections." And in so vivid a way, that the reader finds himself in the thick of that strange emigrant life, and a sharer in the excitement of its labors and dangers. There he finds good company, among those who have planted a new society in that far island, brave and pious gentlemen and gentlewomen, of that good colonizing stock which perpetuates and spreads the integrity and virtues of English homes. Very bad company too he falls in with, in his hour's reading, — with convicts and outlaws, the strife of whose ruffianism with the social rule and order brings him into the stir of most moving accidents, perils, and fierce fighting. There is no lack of zest either in the recollections of a life so adventurous and exceptional as the Australian farmer's, or of interest in the remembrances of the rural life of England, whose striking contrasts make up this novel. They are recorded as if in truth they were the memorials of actual events and real persons; and that this is at least in part so, the book seems to bear out in its dedication, as "the fruit of so many weary years of separation," to the author's parents.

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For special literary effectiveness "The Minister's Wooing" is in advance of Mrs. Stowe's other books. The power of her famous antislavery novel was in its quick seizure and invincible persuasion of humane sympathies against a great oppression and cruelty. In this we exchange that passionate excitement for calm and genial enjoyment in a well-told and artistic story.

Here are interesting narrative, characters well drawn, wise and witty talk, good management of events, fine description of scenes, and notable dramatic contrast of personages. The maidenly delicacy and serene piety of Mary is set off by the *esprit* and warm vivacity of the Marquise, Burr's worldly craft over against the Doctor's godly simplicity; Mrs. Scudder's practical, housewifely turn is the foil to Mrs. Marvyn's poetic, transcendental temper; Candace's large make and tropical generosity of blood flouts Simon Brown's pinched Yankee meanness and cunning. One objection must lie against the conduct of the story, albeit at the risk of outraging the sentimental propriety which claims of every novel an end like a child's story: "And they all lived in happiness and peace ever after." While the book proceeded in its periodical publication many tea-tables were agitated by the inquiry, if James were really drowned, never to come back. The female reading mind especially was much perplexed with Mr. Pillicoddy's question in the play, whether "that mariner would turn up." A different end to the "Wooing" had better pleased those who would see Art, in book-making and in all its forms, departing from the commonplace. And could James find nothing better, in reply to the Doctor's surrender of his bride, than his bathetic "Sir, this tells on my heart more than any sermon you ever preached"?

Not only in form, but intrinsically, this takes rank above the former books by its author. Intellectual character insures it a place above their emotional appeal. There is vigorous free-thinking in it. The times have plainly changed in a few years, that such a term may be applied, without fear of misconception and reproach, to a writer of confessed orthodox association and standing. It is in the theological bearings of this book that the free spirit is remarkable, and thoughtful people will

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give, more than to its pleasant story, hearty welcome to its suggestion of the reformed theology, hoped of finer statement, and broader truth than that old dogmatism which, in its time, has begloomed so many hearts and homes of New England.

Miss Mulock's "A Life for a Life" is the story, told in extracts from their journals, of a Max and a Dora, who, as the experienced instinct forebodes at their first sharp and skirmishing talk, at last are made man and wife, after long, rough flow to their course of true love. This structural device insures perfect frankness, and fortunately these central personages have character and experience worth a frank showing. The interest hinges upon the life-long trouble at the heart of Max, with complicated retributions pursuing him, for killing — as it appears finally, in self-defence — a drunken ruffian, who turns out unluckily to be the dissolute brother of the woman he loves. The weak point is the insufficiency of the cause to so great and desolating effects. As it seems a forced and morbid sorrow that Max should be so remorseful for the accidental homicide of his boyhood, so the whole story gives the impression of a something strained and unnatural in the weaving of so grim a tissue of perplexity and grief, to obstruct the love of a noble man and virtuous lady, in penalty of a deed with no enormity of guilt in it. The pressure of this strain, however, forbids weakness in the mind and sentiment of the book, and the troubled temptations of the lovers only prove the power of their moral dignity and strength. It is vigorous and serious; its morale throughout tuned to the strong and solemn ring in the ancient promise placed on the title-page: "He shall save his soul alive."

"Sword and Gown." Such a soldier as this sketch shows ought to have the "sword" broken shamefully in two, which he so dishonors by his ferocity and ignoble life; and such a churchman to be unfrocked of the "gown" which he so disgraces by his mean spirit. The story is bad and cynical. Its writer adds nothing to the high and pure pleasures of novel literature. All the charm of the facile and elegant manner, which is surely very attractive, cannot do away the sad impression of the inhumane and utterly godless matter of it.

To redeem a number of his admirable stories from their

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vagrant magazine life, Wilkie Collins gives them the setting of a new one, and brings together a lovely and lovable "Queen of Hearts" and three recluse old men, to pass away the long evenings in an ancient tower in Wales in reading them. The loneliness of the Welsh hills, and the grim old tower with its faded tapestries and rusty armor, make fit surrounding for these wild, weird stories. They are of the Poe and Hoffmann order, and told with clever skill. They who like the hair-lifting, breath-quickening, chill-creeping manner, will enjoy it in these "to the top of their bent." The breathless attention and shuddering fascination begin almost with the suggestive titles: "The Black Cottage," "The Dream-Woman," "The Dead Hand," "Mad Monkton." And who does not keep, and likes not to retain, something of the early horrific feeling for gloom, mystery, and fearful sights and sounds, which in "The Mysteries of Udolpho" used to distend his young eyes, and pale his cheeks, and make dark entry-ways and corners in the house so avoided by him?

These tales well carry out the dictum in which the brisk Queen, with pretty pettishness, plainly speaks the author's mind about story-telling, as well as her own: "I 'm sick to death of novels with an earnest purpose. Good gracious me! is n't it the original intention or purpose, or whatever you call it, of a work of fiction, to set out distinctly by telling a story? O dear me! what I want is something that keeps me reading, reading, reading, in a breathless state, to find out the end."

The novels of 1859, here briefly noticed, mark, if not in their writers' design, yet plainly in their results, something beside simple entertainment. Indeed, we doubt if readers now-a-days could be content with fiction which serves merely an idle hour's amusement. The charming "Queen of Hearts" has a pretty way in the claim she makes for stories of "breathless" interest, yet hardly persuades away our liking for those of higher aim than a sensation, and of finer gift than excitement. A good story must be interesting and entertaining, and need be little more. A good novel must go beyond this, enforce a deeper purpose, and give some larger satisfaction. It is pleasant to read a story so freshly told, and artistically

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wrought, as "The Minister's Wooing," but something more than pleasant to note its quiet, but strong and effective protest against a creed, whose coarse logic, set like a flint against the equal mystery of the unfathomed sorrows of the soul and the unfathomable mercies of God, must end often, under stress of spiritual trial and suffering, in blank destitution of faith. The book is the more prized, and is the finer gift to our social life, that thus, while it pleases, it serves higher faculties than the pleasure-seeking.

The novelist takes precedence of the story-teller in the rank of literature. He informs while he interests, instructs while he entertains, moves to a fine intellectual or moral issue while he delights. He gives the form and pressure of an age in depicting social and domestic manners, morals, modes of thinking, and moods of feeling; like Fielding, in his line yet unsurpassed for literary excellence, or like Thackeray, who, with faculty still more striking, goes back a century, his fine humor playing at ease with people and incidents of the past, penetrating all fashions of its life, and bringing down stately and lovely, sedate and grotesque portraits out of their historic frame, to make gentle-folk and vulgar, wits and fools, live over old events and move through past scenes with partners dead and gone long ago. Or he assumes a moral intent, which is, as fiction-writers of slender ability should be warned, a thing quite different from a moralizing purpose; like this same first humorist in our time, who continues his needed and effectual lay-sermons against all poor-spirited and dishonest ways of living in society or homes, and like so many others of our best novelists, who, in the costume of this or of some bygone day, are showing present virtue her own feature, and our scorn her own image. Or still, moving in the free and fruitful region of Art, he reveals its liberal bounty of ceaseless enjoyment and gain, or, among the perplexed vicissitudes of the aspirant and sorrowing soul, unveils their long and forlorn strife, late crowned, if at all this side the grave, with peace; as the writer of "Charles Auchester" shows what rich reward music, in the culture of its higher order, gives its disciples; and as Hawthorne, like an anatomist tracing the fine nerves of the body, tracks to their remote seat and action the strange

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pains of the timid will and tender conscience, to disclose what torment lies in the unshared shame of a sin, hiding in the breast of one of its doers, but upon the breast of his partner blushing in "The Scarlet Letter."

In so great a multiformity of manner and matter, "Each to his taste" must certainly continue to be the motto of novel-readers. All kinds will find their likers. Dreary "Quaker-City" and dreary "High-Church" romances will be sure to secure the attention and enjoyment of their so different friends. But it is gratifying to find the class of readers on the increase, who, while seeking genial entertainment and recreation from the novelist, will make still larger demand for wholesome sentiment, free and foodful thought, and good impulse to believing the true and doing the right.

Art. VIII. — REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

Hours with the Evangelists * is the title chosen by the late much honored and beloved pastor of the First Church in Portland, Maine, for a work to be prepared by him, in compliance with the request of his parishioners that he would leave with them a legacy of his mind and faith. For nearly half a century, from the pulpit and at the communion-table of their church, and in their homes, and in his own home with those cherished friends for listeners, he had poured forth from his own full fountain of thought and feeling streams of pure Christian conviction and sentiment. His beautifully-moulded and expressive features, his noble look, his heaven-lit eye, bright and gentle in its gaze, and his sweet tones, added a power and charm to his utterance which he could leave only in the memories of those who so loved him. But he tried to comply with the earnest desire of his parishioners that he would leave them also a book. And he had a chosen and favorite theme for that book, — one which was akin to his own highest trains of thought, and to the tenderest and most potent elements of his own spiritual experience. Those of us who at any time, during the last ten or more years, have met him during his visits to this city, in bookstore, or at the Anniversaries, or who enjoyed the privilege of a more de-

* Hours with the Evangelists. By I. Nichols, D. D. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 405.

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liberate interview with him, if the conversation opened towards the theme of his favorite thoughts, will call to mind his interest either to learn or to say something upon the Internal Evidences of the Gospel. The theme lay in his mind in its broadest outlines and in its most comprehensive bearings. He apprehended it in all its historical, philosophical, documentary, critical, and spiritual relations. He sought every new volume or essay which would directly or indirectly help his own independent study of it. He well knew that in such a system as that of the Gospel, from such a teacher and such a witness and exemplar of it as Jesus Christ, the element of its power must be found in its self-certifying testimony to the heart and soul of man. He knew that this is really the ground and method by which it works conviction and wins disciples from among the common multitude of those whom it addresses, — who try it by their hearts, because they have not time or ability for its historical, critical, or philosophical attestation. But Dr. Nichols realized that those who could pursue the most elaborate investigation of all the documentary and critical, and even metaphysical questions involved in the external evidences of the Gospel, might find rich materials and strong arguments for presenting the internal evidences. Such was his own plan for his work.

We have as yet but one of the two volumes designed to convey to us the complete views of Dr. Nichols on his favorite theme. We must therefore defer our full and deliberate survey of his work, and the expression of our judgment concerning it, till we have the other volume. Enough, however, is in our hands to indicate the character of the whole work, and to display the fine genius and the admirable spirit of the writer. He had a master's abilities and qualifications for his undertaking. Of course, any single work of this kind must be an imperfect one, because the subject is so expansive, with so many bearings and relations, and necessarily requires in its treatment that a writer should use his own mental and spiritual tests of apprehension as the criteria of truth. A marked peculiarity of Dr. Nichols's volume is in the versatility of the method which he pursues, in his rapid transition from one to another mode of treating his theme, and in the inequality of the argumentative and philosophical tone which he follows in some of his more critical discussions. There are passages of exquisite beauty and of great strength of thought, indicating the very keenest mental acumen. Some very rich scientific facts and processes present themselves here and there as illustrative helps. Occasionally a reader, if he be of a sceptical or a critical cast of mind, will regard the course of argument as lying too near the surface, as recognizing objections with perfect fairness which are not adequately met in the answers given to them, and as shifting too rapidly from one to another train of remark, without indicating any connecting link. But the lofty and liberal tone, the fervent and earnest spirit, and the comprehensive grasp of the subject, of which there are tokens on every page, will engage the admiration of every true-hearted reader. The exquisite mechanical array of the book, with its stately typography and its fair, thick paper, a worthy of the contents. In an Introduction of some seventy pages, —

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following a very tender prefatory address to his parishioners, — Dr. Nichols takes a rapid and cursory preliminary survey of the grounds of religious faith, — of the leading truths and evidences of natural religion, of the earliest records of Divine revelation, and of the inauguration of the Gospel system. Then follows a chapter on General Coincidences between the method and contents of the Christian system and the plans of Providence as indicated in the general course of things and the experience of human life. The method of the writer leads him to treat in succession the following topics: Characteristics of the Gospels; the Mythical Theory; Miracles, their Harmony with Nature, their Uses, their Credibility; the Nativity, Infancy, and Childhood of Jesus; John the Baptist; the Baptism and Temptation; the Apostles and Evangelists; Nathanael; the Miracle at Cana; the Traders in the Temple; Nicodemus; Conversation with the Samaritan Woman; Cure of the Nobleman's Son, and of the Impotent Man. The writer shows himself familiar with the scholarly and the critical suggestions, as well as with the sceptical and rationalistic views, which now cluster so thickly around the philosophy and the narratives of the Gospels. He is eminently candid and dispassionate in his reference to them. His acuteness of mind has enabled him to discern and indicate some very delicate phenomena in the structure of the records, which, as he exhibits them, open to us as original and winning features of the fair countenance of truth. Greatly have we enjoyed this posthumous communion with the mind and heart of an honored and beloved friend, who has left upon us so deep an impression of profound esteem for the beauties and virtues of his character, as well as for the conspicuous qualities of his mind.

The ground-truths of religion are no *peculium* of theological science, but a common estate of the rational mind, and open alike to laity and clergy for judgment and discussion. It is good for both classes to confer together, and collate their views on these subjects. If the layman learns from such conference to define more precisely his notions and beliefs, and to verify or modify them by comparison with the great authorities of the schools and the church, the clergyman, on his part, is brought to face the primary revelation, — "the Light that lighteth all who come into the world," — and is called to test his professional traditions by the canons of common sense and the Gospel, "written in the fleshly tables of the heart."

The Correspondence * embodying a conference of this sort between an American layman and a clergyman of the Church of England is creditable to both the disputants, and not the less interesting that the waters of the Atlantic, as well as the incompatibilities of their respective creeds, divide the parties. The best feature of these letters is their Christian temper, the perfect fairness in each writer's treatment of the other's doctrine, and the mutual good-will and respect for each other's position.

* The Doctrines of Original Sin and the Trinity: discussed in a Correspondence between a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church in England and a Layman of Boston, U. S. Boston.

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The layman — whose signature, N. A., will to many suggest a distinguished citizen of Boston, and will not mislead in that suggestion — stoutly maintains the rights of reason in religion, and repudiates the doctrines of the Trinity and Original Sin from that position. "I am surprised that you should say that reason must *assent* to what it cannot understand. I suppose by assent you mean consent of the mind to a proposition presented to it. How can there be any assent where there is no knowledge of the thing presented? We have no knowledge further than we understand. The conclusion is inevitable. . . . . For myself I can make no other appeal but to this tribunal in my own breast. This teaches me that there cannot be imperfection in God or his works; that he cannot be defeated or disappointed. . . . . I cannot reconcile the doctrine of the Trinity with this tribunal, and therefore I reject it."

The clergyman, on the other hand, in whom the thinker, and even the theologian, is subordinate to the ecclesiastic, argues the questions in debate from the vantage-ground of the Church. It is always "the Church" which in his opinion must decide the truths of religion. "The whole Church, time out of mind, declares that in this One God there are Three Persons, not severed but united, the Word or Son abiding in the Father, and the Holy Ghost abiding in both. Now how can you consistently refuse their doctrine *straight* off, on *a priori* grounds of reason, and independent of evidence? The Church approaches you and offers proof, — 1. from reason; . . . . 2. from traditions among the heathen; 3. from her own uniform faith; 4. and chiefly from Scripture."

The controversy ends, like most religious controversies, in confirming each of the disputants in his own views; but, unlike most religious controversies, it also ends with increased respect and good-will of the disputants toward each other.

"The Word of the Spirit to the Church" has no worthier organ among us, nor any more faithful or zealous advocate, than the author of the little volume recently issued with this title,* whose Preface is subscribed with the always welcome name of C. A. Bartol. Not in its tone or spirit a polemic publication, this essay yet points most emphatically in the opposite direction to that of Dr. Bellows's "Suspense of Faith," with occasional reference to that Discourse, but with "no opposition to that gentleman," and "with an independent treatment of my theme." It is curious how two contemporary writings, handling the same subject and not contradicting one the other in any particular point, may yet be entirely contrary in their aim and tone and spirit. Both writers occupy substantially the same position, they agree in the same first principles; the difference between them is in the axis of their vision. One is looking at the near and concrete, the other is gazing on the distant and ideal; with one, the object of contemplation is the Church; with the other, it is something above and beyond.

Dr. Bartol's plea is as unexceptionable in principle as it is beautiful

* The Word of the Spirit to the Church. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

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in manner and sweet and Christian in its tone. We know not that we should object to a single position in it, and only regret that its scope is so general as to neutralize in its theoretic capability the questions in debate to which it refers, without promoting their practical solution for any given communion of Christians. The author's theory of the Spirit is large and just and sufficing; we cannot say that his theory of the Church is equally so, or indeed that any theory of the Church is expressed in these pages. His fundamental postulate of the Spirit's supremacy in religion,—the Spirit above and before the Church,—"the postulate of the sole authority of the Spirit,"—is one which no Protestant will dispute; but perhaps, for the mass of mankind, untaught and unreflecting, the converse of that position is equally true,—no Church, no Spirit. No Spirit, that is, as a conscious presence and power in the soul. The question with Protestants is, not the supreme claim of the Spirit, but by what mediation shall the Spirit be realized in society, and what are the methods and conditions of that mediation? If Romanism is wrong in asserting, as a matter of principle, that the Church is the only possible medium of Spirit to the individual soul, it is nevertheless true, as a matter of fact, that the Church is that medium to society at large.

We will not quarrel with Dr. Bartol for coming no nearer to the questions which agitate at present the ecclesiastical world, since it lay not within the tenor of his theme, but thank him for his timely counsel and his earnest and consistent advocacy of the Spirit.

We have greatly enjoyed a reperusal, in its second edition, of the rich and noble address bearing the title given below,* delivered by the Rev. Dr. Osgood to the graduating class at the Meadville Theological School, a year and a half ago. It abounds in the best results of remarkable learning, ripe culture, and large experience. A most affectionate and catholic spirit, both of humanity and of piety, breathes through it. Apparently the signal and prompter of the great number of discourses recently issued on the "Broad Church" question, it has, in our judgment, in no instance been equalled in distinctness of statement, conscientious thoroughness of working out, fertility of timely suggestion, satisfying consistency, and practical wisdom. We are more pleased with it, on the whole, than with any other single production the author has given us. Would that it might be carefully read and pondered by every clergyman, and by every theological student, in the country!

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A singular combination of contrasts is Dr. Arnold's History of Islamism.† To recondite scholarship it joins redundant pedantry; to

* The Coming Church and its Clergy. By Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D.

† Ishmael: or a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity. By the Rev. Dr. J. Muehleisen Arnold. London: Rivingtons. 1859. 8vo. pp. 532.

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broad generalizations, narrow special pleading; to admissions the most liberal, a bigotry the most hearty, and to a prevailing accuracy of fact, a frequent inaccuracy which amounts almost to falsification. If there is a great deal in the History to be praised, there is also a great deal to be emphatically condemned. The title is a mystification, and there is nothing in the book to show how it is a "*Natural* History of Islamism." The antipathy to Unitarians and Unitarian views of Christianity is at once gratuitous and malignant, and suggests a disordered intellect. This unfortunate class, whom Dr. Arnold stigmatizes as worse than Mohammedans, are made by him responsible for the sin of English Protestants in their slackness towards the infidelity of Islam. He hints that toleration of such a class is dreadful impiety, and evidently would not regret an Inquisition which should silence and punish them. At the same time, he avows as true many of the characteristic ideas of Unitarians, and even goes beyond them toward Rationalism, maintaining boldly that *miracles in themselves* are *no evidence* of the divine mission of him who works them. In the matter of Atonement, for instance, he regards the "whole life" of Jesus as having "saving efficacy" along with his death; and says, with a thoroughly Unitarian distinctness, that "in punishing the innocent instead of the guilty, supreme justice would only accomplish its object by an act of supreme injustice, and thus destroy its own character." Yet in the same chapter he tells us that "most of the objections to the cardinal doctrine of the Atonement have arisen from a superficial notion of sin"! Asserting continually that the Trinity is taught in the Bible, and making (p. 440) the monstrous statement that "belief in the *Triune God is alone* of saving efficacy" (for which he refers to John v. 23, xvii. 3!); insisting, moreover, that even Pagan speculations prove this doctrine abundantly, and show how "rational" it is, — he yet deprecates all attempt to defend the doctrine on the ground of reason, and thinks that the missionaries have made a great mistake in trying to do so. His whole chapter on the Trinity is a concatenation of careless and inconsistent hypotheses, and his citations nullify his arguments.

This savage antipathy to Unitarian opinions often betrays Dr. Arnold into puerilities, as, for instance, on page 240, where he treats the Moslem invasion of Spain as its punishment for being Arian. "Arian Spain," he says, "was overwhelmed in a manner which clearly showed the finger of God. The Spanish army melted away before a handful of Saracen soldiers; the Godhead of the Redeemer being already denied, there was nothing to resist or to prevent an occupation of the country for the space of eight hundred years." (!) On page 516, he informs us that "Mormonism, a phenomenon perfectly analogous to Mohammedanism, sprang up in that country where the Unitarian heresy is most flourishing;" — forgetting, or not knowing, that the converts to Mormonism have been almost entirely from the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Catholic bodies, and that it "sprang up" in a part of America where Unitarianism was quite unknown. His charitable suggestion, that the men who have embraced Islamism in London, and are projecting a mosque in that city, are "doubtless Unitarians in heart, if not

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in profession," we hardly know whether to receive as an insult or a compliment, considering the character of the prevalent Christianity in that city. A mosque of "forty persons in the heart of London" would have more worshippers than the church of St. Clement Danes, and even than St. Paul's Cathedral, on a rainy day. It is amazing that one who can use so freely the fruits of liberal German thought, should gravely state that the "terrible death of Arius, in *answer to the prayers* of the pious Bishop Alexander, need only be referred to, to stimulate Christian bishops and pastors in these days to *do the like* as regards kindred errors." But we spare our readers any more of this delectable talk, though it gives tone to the whole volume.

Other extraordinary statements might be cited, as, for example (p. 322), "After *the Church* had been without Scriptures for more than two thousand years, and when the word of God could no longer be orally transmitted with safety, Moses wrote the Pentateuch;" and again (p. 504), that *Christ* appeared to Hagar, as "Jesus Jehovah." It is interesting to learn that this "manifestation of the second person of the Trinity opens a long series of revelations, ordinarily in *human form*." It seems from Dr. Arnold's discoveries, that it is a vulgar error that Jesus came in the fulness of time in Bethlehem of Judæa. He had been coming all along for two thousand years, appearing to the Jews at regular intervals, and his presence and voice were perfectly well known! We cannot resist the temptation to quote the eloquent and convincing argument of Dr. Arnold, on this head of Hagar and Christ, which surpasses even the original philology of a MacWhorter. "Yahveh Christ" must yield the palm to "Jesus Jehovah."

"The reason why Christ the Angel of Jehovah first appeared to Hagar was, doubtless, because 'he is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.' [!] It befitted the friend of sinners to appear in *human form* [the Italics are Dr. Arnold's] to the erring mother of the Saracens, as he afterward appeared in *human nature* to men and women who were sinners. She was, moreover, in affliction, and probably conscious of her guilt (Gen. xvi. 2), and was therefore permitted to see God's face, as it only can be seen, in Christ. By this manifestation to the proud and rebellious bondmaid of Sarah, it was shown to the world, that whilst *Jehovah* was pre-eminently the God of the Hebrews, Jesus Jehovah was the Saviour of the *whole* world. They who cannot understand why Christ should first appear to the Egyptian Hagar, instead of to Abraham or Sarah, forget or disown the *love of Jesus to the most reprobate of sinful humanity.* Hagar was the mother of a posterity which more than any other have distinguished themselves by their animosity to Christ, their hatred to Christians, and their enmity to the Gospel: the appearance of Christ to her, as 'the Angel of Jehovah,' at once implied that His future incarnation as the seed of the woman was not only for the then chosen people, but also for those who seem hopelessly lost, in wild fanaticism, inconceivable pride, and enmity against God. It taught the same truth in the Old Testament which is taught in the Gospel by the parables of the lost sheep and the prodigal son."

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Such absurdities as these that we have cited fatally impair the credit of a work which would otherwise be valuable. Its plan is excellent. The first part, in eight chapters, treats of "the Forerunners of Mohammed; the Arabian Land; the Age, History, and Character of the Prophet;" the Koran, its History and Dogmas; what Mohammed borrowed from Judaism; what he borrowed from Christianity; the Spread and Success of Islamism; and its Character and Influence. Many of the views in this part of the work are striking, and some of them are new; and they are fortified by references to Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew authorities, as well as English, French, and German. In a few instances which we have noted, the authorities are incorrectly rendered, and sometimes they are made to say more than they really do say. Dr. Arnold's translation of Psalm lxxvi. 10, altered from the common version, is yet not the sense of the original; and his inference (p. 43) from Origen's note on John, by no means seems to us to justify his statement that the Virgin was *deified* by the Pseudo-Gospels. The explanation of Mohammed's inspiration as the "influence of Satan," is more convenient than satisfactory. The Devil is an excellent resort for those who are hard pressed for a reason for what is troublesome.

The second part of the work, in six chapters, treats of the Integrity of the Old Testament, the Integrity of the New Testament, the Bible and the Koran, Trinity and Unity, Christ and Mohammed, and General Survey and Agenda. There is research and ability in these chapters, and they may be read with profit, though not without indignation at the unfairness and bigotry which pervade them. It was not necessary to say so much in defence of the superiority of the Scriptures, and a good deal that is said is contradictory. And we are constrained to dismiss the treatise as a whole as the work of a learned enthusiast, and an able fanatic, who has undertaken a task for which his spirit wholly disqualifies him. We await a better history of Islam.

THOUGH Mr. Hopkins's volume * opens, like one of James's novels, with a party of horsemen, it is not a novel, but a careful, candid, and sagacious historical study, the conclusions and statements of which are supported by the most ample references, and the enthusiasm of which gives a sustained glow to the narrative. How far the language which the various characters in the book use is authentic, we cannot say; much of it seems to be the invention of the author. And it seems to us that he is not always happy in his imitation of ancient phraseology, defacing the king's English somewhat more than is necessary, especially in the early part of his narrative. If his method be questionable on the score of perfect accuracy, it certainly lends vivacity and picturesqueness to the story. In this respect his history will be a great improvement upon the dry, though elaborate work of Daniel Neal. Mr. Hopkins's style, however, is by no means faultless. It lacks

* The Puritans: or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. By SAMUEL HOPKINS. In three Volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 8vo. pp. 563.

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music, and it is often jerking and abrupt. It is much less finished than the style of Prescott or Palfrey. He fails, too, sometimes in his pictures of men. If he represents to the eye Edward, Elizabeth, Grindal, and Knox, we miss a good likeness of Whitgift, Cartwright, and Parker. With these slight drawbacks, the volume may be commended as creditable for its research, its fairness of view, its insight into motives, and its just comprehension of the spirit of the age. If the succeeding volumes are as able and thorough as the present, it will become the standard history of the Puritans. The list of works prefixed is ample, and the mechanical execution of the electrotyped pages leaves nothing to be desired, except an engraving or two of some of the Puritan worthies.

THE venerable and esteemed author of an Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address,* Mr. Horace Binney of Philadelphia, has rendered praiseworthy service to our historical literature in his exhaustive investigation of a subject which has been considerably discussed at different times, and never before with an entirely satisfactory result. Whether Washington had the assistance of Hamilton in the preparation of the Farewell Address is not, indeed, a question which any instructed person will answer in the negative. On this point there exists the most ample and positive documentary evidence; and even in the absence of such proof it would not have been difficult to establish a strong probability, from the known relations of personal and political confidence between them, and from a critical study of the Address, that on this as on other occasions Washington sought the advice of the greatest man then living in America. But what were the nature and extent of Hamilton's assistance, and in what way it was rendered, — in other words, how far are we indebted to Washington and to Hamilton respectively for the priceless lessons of political wisdom contained in the Farewell Address, — is another and much more difficult question; and it is precisely this question which it is the endeavor of Mr. Binney's essay to answer. To this discussion he has brought the logical habits of mind and the acuteness in sifting evidence which he has acquired in a long and honorable practice at the bar, remarkable candor and freedom from prejudice, and a single desire to ascertain the exact truth. To these qualifications must be added an intelligent veneration for both Washington and Hamilton, and a clear perception of the truth, that the just fame of neither can be sensibly affected by the decision, — that Washington can gain nothing by establishing an exclusive claim in his behalf to the authorship of the Address, while Hamilton's position is equally secure, whatever may be the result of the inquiry.

From the correspondence between them it is certain that, early in 1796, Washington mentioned to Hamilton a wish that he "should *redress* a certain paper" which the former had prepared; that on the

* An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address. Philadelphia: Parry and McMillan. 1859. 8vo. pp. 250.

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15th of May this paper was transmitted to Hamilton, to be returned "with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of," and with authority to throw the whole into a different form if he should think best; that on the 5th of July Hamilton informed Washington that he had "completed the first draught of a certain paper" which he would "shortly transcribe, correct, and forward," and that he would "also prepare and send forward, without delay, the original paper corrected upon the general plan of it," in order that Washington might decide which of the two he would adopt; that the "amended" draught prepared by Hamilton was sent to the President on the 30th of July, and his revision of Washington's original paper on the 10th of August; that on the 25th of August Hamilton's draught was returned to him, at his own request, for a final revision, with an explicit declaration by Washington, that "after several serious and attentive readings" he greatly preferred it to the other draughts, and that he should not himself have seen any occasion "for its undergoing a revision;" that it was then "corrected" and "a short paragraph added respecting Education;" and finally, that it was returned to Washington on the 5th of September, twelve days only before the Farewell Address was dated and signed by him. In addition to these points, which are facts of record, Mr. Binney endeavors by a course of close and exact reasoning to establish the absolute identity of the paper sent to Hamilton on the 15th of May with the paper from which two extracts are printed in the Appendix to the twelfth volume of Mr. Sparks's edition of the Writings of Washington, and also to identify Hamilton's original draught, prepared under the authority of Washington's letter, with the paper printed in the seventh volume of Mr. John C. Hamilton's edition of his father's Works. In both of these attempts, we think, he has been entirely successful, and his arguments must be regarded as conclusive on the question of identity.

From this solid basis of facts and arguments Mr. Binney next proceeds to trace the relation between Washington's original draught, which was shown to Hamilton and afterward sent to him to be "redressed," Hamilton's "Abstract of Points to form an Address" in the seventh volume of his Works, his original draught in the same volume, and the printed copy of the Farewell Address. To his critical analysis and comparison of these documents he devotes considerable space, and he shows very clearly that the leading, fundamental doctrines of the Farewell Address are contained in Washington's original draught, whence they are transferred to Hamilton's "Abstract of Points;" that in this paper the thoughts receive a new and more orderly arrangement, new topics are introduced, and the various parts are so distributed as to have a general bearing on one central idea, instead of remaining detached propositions; that Hamilton's "Abstract of Points" stands to his original draught in so direct a relation, that it might almost be reproduced as a syllabus of the latter; and finally, that there is a substantial identity between Hamilton's original draught and the printed Address. This statement, however, does not exhaust the facts in reference to Hamilton's connection with the authorship of the Address, or rather it does

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not bring into sufficient prominence some of the essential facts. Not only did he give to Washington's thoughts a new body and form, he breathed into them a new life. He adopted those propositions which were best suited to give effect to Washington's patriotic purpose; he omitted those statements which were irrelevant or adapted to excite invidious criticism; he added new views, to give greater force to the central idea; and he made the Address a paper for the study of future generations, as well as one of interest to Washington's contemporaries. As Mr. Binney very happily remarks, "The main trunk was Washington's; the branches were stimulated by Hamilton; and the foliage, which was not exuberant, was altogether his; and he, more than Washington, pruned and nipped off with severe discrimination whatever was excessive, that the tree might bear the fruits that Washington desired, and become his full and fit representative." Such is the conclusion which Mr. Binney reaches, — a conclusion, we may add, not only in strict accordance with all the known facts in the case, but, as we believe, absolutely required by them.

All of the letters and most of the documents having any bearing on the subject are printed at length in Mr. Binney's essay or in his Appendix. Among the papers in the latter is a reprint of the autograph copy of the Address now in the possession of Mr. Lenox of New York, with the omitted and altered passages restored and printed at the foot of the page. Indeed, the volume needs only an index to render it a model for all similar Inquiries. In thoroughness and candor it leaves nothing to be desired.

THE new edition of Stanley's Life of Dr. Arnold is issued in a style of typographical beauty and neatness which we have seldom seen equalled in a work of this class.* Its clear type and its excellent presswork are deserving of special commendation, and are fitly bestowed on a memoir so replete with interest and instruction. The work has, indeed, long held a high place among the classical biographies in our language, and seems likely to maintain a permanent reputation. Mr. Stanley had been a pupil of Dr. Arnold at Rugby, and afterward a cherished friend; he had a warm and just appreciation of the Doctor's character; his personal recollections were still fresh, and he received valuable assistance from many persons; he had access to a great mass of correspondence; and the plan of his work was judiciously conceived and admirably executed. His narrative is full, clear, and smooth; his selections from Dr. Arnold's correspondence are interesting and characteristic; and his pages present such a picture of a man of letters as we do not often find in biographical literature. It was a delicate task which Mr. Stanley undertook; but the fidelity and good taste with which it was executed have been universally recognized.

Dr. Arnold was in several respects a remarkable man. As a teacher,

* The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY. Third American, from the last London Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 2 vols.

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his fame was not confined to his own country, and the veneration with which his memory is regarded by his pupils is a convincing proof of the salutary influence which he exerted at Rugby. As an historian, he was a disciple of Niebuhr; and though he was inferior to the German in erudition, and lacked vigor of imagination, his style was luminous, his views were just and liberal, and his unfinished History of Rome and his Lectures on Modern History have enjoyed a deserved popularity. As a Greek scholar, his reputation stood high, and his edition of Thucydides has received ample praise from competent critics. As a man, his character and life were blameless. Faithful in the discharge of every duty, he sought the good of others more than his own ease or pleasure. His views of the relations of Church and State were peculiar, and sometimes led him to adopt extravagant opinions; but the sincerity with which he entertained them cannot be questioned; and his entire devotion to the cause of religion is equally unquestionable. But his highest praise is to say, that esteem for the scholar, the critic, the historian, and the advocate of a noble theory of a Christian state, are lost in love and admiration of the man.

If Rugby under Dr. Arnold had turned out nobody but whole-souled "Tom Brown," it would be sufficient to entitle it and the Doctor to all the praise which Tom awards them; but the self-written record* of Major Hodson's Indian career shows that they have placed the world, and England especially, under still greater obligation, for their share in developing so rare an example of ability, courage, and heroism as are here displayed. Major Hodson went to India in September, 1845, and was killed in the gateway of the Begum's Palace on the 12th of March, 1858. It is difficult to imagine a life of greater or more varied activity than is crammed into these twelve and a half years. How he lived; what he did; the peculiarity of a soldier's life in that country and among that strange people; his industry; his cheerfulness; the immense journeys he made, often riding a hundred miles in ten hours, and frequently being eighteen hours in saddle; the variety of his occupations, at once drill-sergeant, magistrate, architect, engineer, commander, fighter, and exciseman; his bravery in battle; his calm endurance of calumny and misfortune; — everything relating to his character as a man and a soldier is here shown in his own words, with a degree of frankness and modesty as unusual as it is refreshing.

But that which especially attracts attention in reading this book, aside from the admirable and striking qualities alluded to, is the extent of English arrogance and misrule in India, as indicated in every letter, — so clearly that it seems only wonderful that the natives endured it as long and as patiently as they have done, — and the benumbing effect of fighting on the moral character. Not merely the incapables, but even such able and energetic men as Major Hodson, by his own confession, were guilty of acts sufficient to excite a hundred mutinies. After calling the Sikhs

* Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India; being Extracts from the Letters of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson. First American from the third English Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

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"a brave and unconquered people," and testifying, in various ways, to their valor, in comparison with the "lamentably deficient" condition of the British troops, which "may be traced mainly to the want of European officers," he represents himself as constantly striving to "keep up English habits, tastes, and feelings," and expresses the greatest contempt for a "regular Indian," i. e. a man who adopts Indian habits, morals, and fashions, forgetting that he is an Englishman. He was for a time superintendent of an Asylum for European children. It was his "object to give them *English* habits from the first;" and he "steadfastly refuses the slightest dash of color," not because there is not room, but because they can stand the climate, and "by mixing them with English children, you corrupt them," i. e. the English. The fashion among the native governments in public works was to compel the inhabitants to do them. So the English officers, finding it difficult to get men without pay, "hung some of the head men up by the heels to trees *till they were convinced.*" We are happy to say that Major Hodson had no hand in this piece of cruelty, but paid his workmen honestly. "Absolute supremacy is their only safety." "*Moderation* is the greatest of all weakness." These specimens are sufficient to show the way in which Englishmen conducted in India, in a time of peace. If such confessions do not throw some light on the causes of Indian mutinies, we are at a loss to know what will.

Indeed, all this time, the country was in a state of concealed rebellion, and Major Hodson is constantly wishing for some master-mind to be put at the head of government, so as to draw the lightning from the cloud without a fearful shock. But the wish was not realized, as the events of 1857, which have immortalized Delhi, too plainly show. Major Hodson's experience made him particularly available in that memorable campaign which resulted in his death. That he displayed great heroism is undoubted; but the relish with which he speaks of battles and of killing is something terrible. We had marked numerous instances for quotation; but we forbear. How it is possible for a man and a Christian, as he constantly seems to consider himself, to cut down men by the score, without the least hesitation or compunction, and to tell of it afterward with indifference or glee, is marvellous.

But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the book is full of evidences of the courage, ability, self-sacrifice, and unflagging cheerfulness in the worst times, which made the presence of Major Hodson, in those fearful days, a godsend to all who came in contact with him. Modest, sincere, and truthful, his private letters tell the story of the Indian mutiny better than any official despatches. They take us behind the scenes, and show us the actors, in their every-day costume, living and breathing men. Without a word of self-praise, and scarcely an allusion to his own part in any brave exploits, he unconsciously compels us to regard him, what all his co-actors affirm he really was, as "the bravest man before Delhi."

A MAN of mark in these days, when removed from the sphere of his mortal activities, will not be long without a biographer to tell his story,

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and to sound his praise; but the appearance of so considerable a volume of "Reminiscences of Rufus Choate" * as that which Mr. Parker has just put forth, was hardly to have been expected at a date so near the demise of "the great advocate." One does not look for severe method in a work so rapidly composed and completed, but we have here, what is quite as important in a book of this sort, and a deal more telling, vivid portraiture, spicy anecdote, and, best of all, minutes of actual private conversation of the man off his guard, not speaking for effect, not expecting to be reported, — the ungirt action of his mind, the hero in his slippers. We have Choate "in his habit as he lived," and altogether a very readable and enjoyable book. Mr. Parker writes as a lover, out of the fulness of that enthusiastic admiration which on the whole is the best interpreter of character and the surest guaranty of faithful delineation. One must believe in an object in order to do it justice, one must love it in order to report it truly. Reverence is a more reliable witness than indifference, with whatever amount of critical acumen it may be associated. No one will deny to Mr. Parker these essential qualifications for the task he has assumed. Evidently he believes with a whole heart in the subject of his story. Other subsequent biographers may furnish a more systematic account and methodized history of the man, but we doubt if any memoir that may hereafter be written of him will exhibit Mr. Choate more vividly, and on the whole more faithfully, than these Reminiscences.

For those who hold, with good Dr. Watts, the tongue to be "the glory of our frame," here was a hero of superlative claims. "Nothing struck a discerning public like the talent he had for speaking. Spoke four hours at a stretch, ... with a fair share of meaning too, and had bursts of parliamentary eloquence in him that were astonishing to hear." Whatever is best in its kind is worthy of note, and claims consideration as such. Mr. Choate's talk is said, by those who were much exposed to it, to have merited this praise, to have been the best talk there was going in these days, in this community. Audiences were enchanted, hung enraptured on his lips; Faneuil Hall rocked, the court glowed, juries were overpowered; "he held in his right hand fortune or poverty for clients, who worshipped him as a god." Such eloquence was irresistible, provided no one with power consisting in force of character, rather than in force of utterance or rhetorical skill, appeared against it. But when the late Jeremiah Mason, after one of Mr. Choate's magniloquent speeches to a jury, in which "he had piled up his frenzy very high before them," rose in opposition with, "Gentlemen of the Jury, I don't know as I can *gyrate* before you as my brother Choate does, but I want to just state a few *pints*," the effect, we are told, was "somewhat damaging" on Mr. Choate (p. 212). We can readily believe it. It was Antony speaking after Brutus. The great poet, who had weighed human eloquence along with all social phenomena in the fatal balance of his genius, represents in these two char-

* Reminiscences of Rufus Choate, the great American Advocate. By Edward G. Parker. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860.

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acters the unequal contest between rhetoric and nature. The elegant set speech of Brutus is honored, as such speeches behoove to be, with three cheers for the speaker. "Live, Brutus! live! live!" But when Antony, who is "no orator," finishes his plain talk, the cry is, "We will be revenged!" "Go, fetch fire! Pluck down benches!" &c., &c. Oratory is grand and victorious until reality, more eloquent than it, runs foul of its tackle; then all its winds forsake it and all its sails collapse.

There are periods in the history of most civilized nations when oratory holds the supreme place among the forces that rule the state, and among its glories. But they are not the most prosperous periods, nor those which exhibit the highest civilization. The age of Demosthenes was an age of national decline for Athens, and that of Cicero was perhaps the most corrupt in Latin history. In our own country, we cannot but think that a very exaggerated value has hitherto been set on oratorical art, — an art which English civilization in Great Britain has outgrown, and in which the highest proficiency is by no means proportioned to general ability and intellectual greatness; — an art whose essence, by confession of its most celebrated master, consists in something nearly allied to jugglery (ὑπόκρισις).

We mean no disparagement of Mr. Choate, who was something more and far better than "the eloquent advocate." We respect most sincerely the heroism of his unflagging industry, we respect his extraordinary literary attainments, his steadfast devotion to his calling, his disinterested love of the law as a science, his unmercenary practice of it. We would fain do justice to one from many of whose views we strongly dissent, and we frankly confess that these Reminiscences have disclosed to us a deeper and nobler man than we had hitherto associated with their subject.

POETRY AND ART.

In striking contrast with the last volume of poems noticed in the Christian Examiner are the sprightly, brilliant, fanciful, and musical verses of Praed.* It is difficult to classify or criticise them, as it is all works which express or imply genius. Emerson, in his "English Traits," says: "Hundreds of clever Praeds and Freres and Hoods and Macaulays make poems or short essays for a journal, as they make speeches in Parliament or on the hustings, or as they shoot and ride. It is quite an accidental and arbitrary direction of their general ability. Rude health and spirits, an Oxford education, and the habits of society are implied, but not a ray of genius." We do not know whether Emerson means to give Praed any preference by placing him first on the list; but he seems to us to come nearer to the possession of genius, even if he do not actually possess it, than any of the others whom he mentions. No one can read "Lilian" or "The Legend of the Rhine," and doubt that Praed might have gained admission into the high and

* Poems. By Winthrop Mackworth Praed. In Two Volumes. New York: J. S. Redfield.

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difficult rank of true poets, had he pursued his calling with as much industry and conscience as Tennyson. But he wrote merely for amusement; and nature, which will not be cheated, returned his compliments in kind. No half-worshippers are admitted to her Pantheon. Praed will always furnish delightful entertainment to all who love light and graceful verse, which hints the existence of a latent power the author does not care to exhibit. Horace is not more charming, in his gayest moods, than Praed; and the highest tribute to his excellence is the fact, that, in a time and among a people abundantly appreciating the poems of Tennyson and the Brownings, and full of the activities of practical life, these effusions of an hour, thrown off for momentary gratification, have been drawn out of an obscurity as complete, and longer than that which Horace advises, and that too by the persistent demands of those who were captivated by the few gems which had found their way by accident to the notice of the general public.

Praed's whole life and surroundings were such as to render earnest devotion to poetry distasteful; and so, when the pressure of schoolboy emulation at Eton was removed, his wonderful mental activity, brilliancy, and wit, which had far outshone the rival displays of Macaulay, were allowed to subside into merely occasional displays for the admiration of social circles. None of his poems touch the great experiences of life. They are all superficial, and consequently ephemeral. What he sees, he describes with inimitable grace and sweetness. Many of his poems are among the most musical in the language. No poet ever had a better appreciation of the niceties of expression, the delicate shades of thought and word, which no study can furnish and no polish supply. We doubt if he ever revised a single one of his numerous productions; and yet some of them are perfect in their kind.

In reading such poems as Praed's, one finds a partial answer to the question, "What becomes of all the boys and girls of genius?" Here was a boy who, at a time when most schoolboys are just breaking their way into the green pastures of literature, was doing a man's work in the "Etonian," and establishing for it such a reputation as no other college magazine ever won; and when he has arrived at man's estate, he does nothing more or better than those early productions of boyhood. It was not that he had lost the faculty, — that his precocity had spent itself, — but he did not care to give himself, with all the vigor of maturity, to the work in which he had won his youthful laurels. The great world about him was full of bustle and activity. Science, art, literature, knowledge of all kinds, religion, morals, were drawing their champions to such devotion as was never before known. Praed retired from the toil, preferring ignoble ease to the secret and nobler rest of the yoke which poetry promised him. So he has left us enough to prove his capacity and his failure. We take him to the fireside, of a long winter evening, and read him, as we play the games of childhood and youth. They while away the hour, cheerfully and gayly. But we never go to him when we would invigorate our souls, and derive nourishment and strength from communion with the soul of the true poet. Then we find him intrusive and impertinent, as out of place as a giggling school-girl at a funeral.

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This collection of his poems argues, too, a healthier progress in the appreciation of true poetry. A thoughtful reader of Praed will not rest content with such light entertainment. The passion he creates, he cannot satisfy. And so those who are attracted by his smooth lines to essay their first acquaintance with verse, will pass on to the greater and truer interpreters, and not rest until they find full fruition in the grand utterances of the immortal masters of English poetry.

It is opportune to turn from the anxious and ambitious faces around us, and in our own glasses too, and let the serene face of the Madonna compose and elevate us.*

> "With even step and musing gait,
> And looks commercing with the skies,
> Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes;—
> There held in holy passion still,
> Forget thyself to marble."

This is the season for such a mood; the best, the most meaning Christmas or New-Year's gift any one could make to himself. The face of Nature teaches, in its white, motionless features, the same silent lesson.

In the act of contemplation or meditation we must have nothing before the eyes but the pure, the superhuman, the ideal. In considering this, we see why it is that love can work such miracles of good or evil in a man. Anything that becomes an object of thought either elevates or degrades the mind. The mind in its efforts becomes an object to itself of respect and wonder, or of disgust. In the choice of works of art, of books, of friends, this will measure their worth: do they elevate us and carry us beyond ourselves?

The direction of the artist's mind is upward and ideal. For the Theban laws, which required the imitation of the beautiful, and forbade the imitation of the deformed, execute themselves in the artist's endeavors. He has been led behind outward forms, where beauty and harmony elementally exist, as the background of all art. If in the investiture of his idea he ever forsakes that position, looking into rather than from the eyes of the Madonna, he is no longer the artist, and will find his power departed. For then he himself has come into the same outward circumstances that interfere with the perfect embodiment of his conception in matter.

Nor can he have the vanity to look upon his own work, mingling with the throng of spectators. But through sympathy and affinity he enters into it, protecting it from the vulgar, and unfolding many meanings to the wise. He alone must know the hidden avenue to the inner being of his work, because in the hour of its creation, he was led through it outward to material expression. How dear, how composing this knowledge is, he must alone feel. Yet it only makes him humble. We never can quite grasp the art of another. We put into it much of

* Book of Raphael's Madonnas. By James P. Walker. New York: Leavitt and Allen. 1860.

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our own; we carry away a small part of what it really is; and it gives us no peace or confidence comparable to that which consecrates our own creations. It is not selfishness to love our own children better than another's, but a law of Nature. In Art, whatever is to be permanent must spring from the soul of the artist, and not be a conformity to the taste or fashion of the age. This is a test which demands genius, industry, and the spirit to work on in obscurity and without recognition. We have no standards in the present time whereby to determine as critics the quality of art. Works of art, so called, fill the shop windows, public places, and houses of the rich. And it is thought enough if they *please*. Beyond that point we have no philosophy or ideas to guide us. It is common enough to hear people say, "I know when I am pleased, and that is enough." It is not enough. You must be a born Greek of the era of Phidias to make it enough. The tattooed cannibal admires his red stains, or scarlet fillet; but what would he say to the Transfiguration?

To please is the only aim of our artists, and it is an end too easily gained. What will sell is what must be produced, and the purchaser too often permits no freedom to the artist. In architecture it is even worse. This is the limit, — one, two, or three thousand, — do your best; or, as oftenest happens, your worst. We need a philosophy of some sort to guide us. At the culmination of Grecian Art, Plato lived and wrote; and the golden age of Italian Art was also marked by the revival of the Platonic philosophy. Until we have a literature and philosophy pervaded by one central thought and faith, we shall have only the temporary and imitative in Art. While we work for this end, we can refresh ourselves by the study of the old masters. Let us at least learn all they can teach.

This volume contains thirteen of Raphael's Madonnas perfectly photographed from the very best engravings in existence. They are accompanied by selections of literature, — the good thoughts these pictures have inspired in kindred minds. To be able to have these works in a compass such as one can take in his hands and sit apart studying them until filled with their beauty, is a thing to be grateful for.

The Madonnas of Raphael are the highest exhibition of the supreme artistic mind, and the most magnificent homage ever paid to Christianity. Most of them are almost beyond the mind's grasp. The worshipper of the Virgin alone might penetrate them; but for us they terminate in the supernatural and inscrutable. What shall be resaid of the Dresden Madonna? When we love, when we worship, we shall know what those eyes, so human and so divine, mean in their earnest looking, — what they do indeed see. And the child's eyes, if one might so speak, grow year by year more like its mother's. Sex, in its relations to humanity, never anywhere appears so mysterious as in these pictures. Sex purified and deified by the absence of all passion, — what miracles it might work in us! It is the absence of passion that causes that repose and peace so characteristic of the Virgin. That repose is never in the unwed woman, but always in the mother; for, conscious of the gift of God in her child, she leads a more inward,

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thoughtful life, which touches all her manners and movements with serenity and mild dignity. The maiden, though she sit still as a marble statue, has eyes in restless and eager quest.

In the Madonna of the Palms, and the Madonna del Cardellino, may be seen the most becoming and natural style of dress for a mother ever fashioned. The line of the dress follows the oval lines of the bust with a simple natural effect, as though the dress were but the most external development of the form.

It will be a piece of good fortune if this book fall into the hands of such as wish to know the Madonnas of Raphael. If by some secret impulse we might draw from the gifts now everywhere in preparation that which belongs to us and is best for us, whoever was pure and loving and devout would discover these works over his chamber lintel at the Christmas distribution. But the heavens, using us as willing agents, often strangely make us bestow on each other what we most covet from each other. The impress which character makes affects us in subtile ways when we think what we shall give, and we select what belongs to it, what will instantly seem its own. Yet observe how most gifts still belong to the giver; for we have not the magnanimity to make a complete surrender, but we feel a certain lingering interest and right in our gifts, as though they were after all our own. The child gives its playfellow something with much affectionate ceremony, but instantly repents, and takes it back, — takes it back, dear thing, only to give it again. It is best not to own with much solicitude many things, but to consider our goods as probably having more rightful possessors, who will some time come into their inheritance, leaving us only what belongs to us by some divine right. Fortunate men, if all there is left of us, when justice has been fairly done, be more than the inverted commas! What title have I to my dollars, when the poor cry? Thou hast earned them? The very earning was a sin, if for thyself alone. If I have something that I know my friend very much admires, and longs to have, I no longer feel any right to it; my hold suddenly relapses, and sooner or later it goes to him.

We must take high ground in this world, although it cause us to be poor, and to be left almost alone. We must play the part of Mercury, or messengers of the gods, to our fellows; and with his caduceus awake them to wonder and awe, and a vision of things immaterial. Remember the random wish of thy friend unconsciously spoken, and when the holidays come, be a sort of Providence unto him, so as he shall not only be warmed towards thee, but also may feel a secret gratitude to God for so wonderfully satisfying the desires of his heart.

THE beautiful volume of the White Hills * fulfils the promise to "patient waiters," and amply satisfies the good expectation many have held of it. It comes now, however, too late for any notice extended beyond a simple word of praise, and a sketch of its plan.

* The White Hills; their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry. By THOMAS STARR KING. With sixty Illustrations, engraved by Andrew from Drawings by Wheelock. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1860.

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Mr. King lays out his book by the four great valleys of the White Hills, the Androscoggin, the Saco, the Pemigewasset, and the Connecticut. And he has done wisely in this, since readers and tourists must so keep a plan of the Hills in mind, instead of holding the dim and vague notion of their topography which most have, and which, we are told, brought out from one traveller the question, if the Notch were on the top of Mount Washington. Taking the four rivers for its great map-lines, the book is completed by setting along these, descriptions of the noted places of interest, and of the various regions of wonder, and the landscapes of beauty or grandeur, among the mountains. By its direction one lives over again the delight, or by anticipation tastes the larger enjoyment offered the lover of nature by Bethel, Gorham, and Milan; Lake Winnipiseogee, North Conway, and the Notch; Plymouth, Campton, and Franconia; the intervales of Lancaster, Bethlehem Plain, and the Cherry Mount road. Two chapters have been contributed by Prof. Edward Tuckerman, upon the Exploration and the Flora of the mountains, which for genial enthusiasm as well as truthfulness are in sympathy with the rest of the book. The publishers have given the work a fitting form, which puts it in no respect behind the most elegant of the handsome books which are not only of American publication, but wholly of American make. Shape, binding, paper, and print are all in excellent taste. Of the illustrations, which deserve, like the book, much larger notice than we can now give, we can only say, in passing, that they form no small part of its beauty and value, and that while some of them fall far short of, and none perhaps come quite up to the delicacy and strength of Mr. Wheelock's drawings, many of them are no mean suggestion of the force and grace of those English engravings of Birket Foster's drawings, which have made us so fastidious and exigent in the matter of landscape illustration.

But such mere sketching the externals of the book is as meagre a hint of its wealthy suggestiveness, as the thin lines which make the artist's memorandum of the majestic bulk of Mount Washington, or the fine symmetry and harmonious color of Madison. It shows throughout a faculty of striking the central point of what is grand or lovely in mountain and valley landscape, matched by a skill as notable in selecting out of our literature what is most worthy and apt of rhythmed and unversified poetry, to the adorning illustration of it. A larger company now than the few friends of the writer who have, in his society, enjoyed so much among the hills, will enjoy his healthy love and genial sympathy with the manifold and enchanting moods of mountain gloom and glory. And they may be helped by the book to larger and finer delight than the eye can get from the beautiful or sublime scenery of the mountains. For in it they will discover, beside the knowledge of the moods and aspects of Nature given by long years of "communion with her visible shapes," and the quick fancy which so gracefully interprets them, that eminent faculty of imaginative and spiritual insight which reads the moral and religious symbolism of the hills.

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GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

SEVEN years' travel in Central America, by Julius Froebel,* a German Jew as we believe, certainly a man of science, enterprise, daring, and endurance, ought to have been "illustrated" by an original map, instead of its unattractive wood-cuts; especially as the adventurous traveller rectifies many geographical errors, introduces to the world the largest lake of North Mexico, the Laguna de Castilla, and is so perpetually in motion through unexplored territory that the constant use of the map is necessary to the reader's comfort as well as profit. This new and extensive lake, near Chihuahua, surrounded by perpetually green pastures, occupying the summit of a table-land, and feeding many streams that spread their waters to every point of the compass, is the central reservoir of an unsettled region consigned by all existing charts to the barrenness of a desert.

As the "seven years" travel seem to have commenced in 1850, and closed with the year 1855, the true title should have run, "Three Visits to Nicaragua, Mexico, and California;" through each of which our traveller showed rare powers alike of body and mind. Obliged to watch day and night against Indian depredation, sometimes through tropical rains, sometimes stiff with cold, aching with rheumatism, or burning with fever, a high character for industry, virtue, and hospitality is given to the Central American Indians. Their settlements were sometimes found to be quite picturesque, and their life occasionally a sort of paradise. In his California trip he exchanges "one of the most elementary articles of his dress" for the whole of an Indian girl's wardrobe, a home-woven blanket, and a prettily figured belt of her own manufacture.

The modest demeanor, bright eye, and pleasing manner of these aborigines often produce, he says, a most pleasing impression, and present genuine scenes of idyllic life. Here and there, under the shade of an old algarobbia, might be seen, sitting or standing, a merry, innocent group; — old men stretched out upon the ground; women and children sitting by their side; boys standing near in pairs, one with his arm around the other's neck; pretty girls moving naïvely among the caravan-drivers, who never ventured any rude gallantry. To complete the picture of this Indian tribe, he adds, that it unites such courage with its amiable qualities as inspires even the savage Apaches with respect.

Froebel shows that Central America has better claims to respect than its geographical position, now so vexatious a bar between the two great oceans; — an extensive country endowed with all the charms and wealth of nature, uniting the advantages of an archipelago with that of being the most favored portion of a continent; a country open to the commerce of the world in every direction; a country with a diversity of soil and climate, and a variety of sites suitable to every constitution, taste, and occupation, and all this within reach of the two great oceans; a country rich in the most precious minerals, nourishing millions of the

* Seven Years in Central America. By JULIUS FROEBEL. London: Bentley. 1859.

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most useful animals, and capable of producing the valuable vegetables of every zone, from oats and potatoes to cocoanuts and spices; a country inhabited by a people unable to govern themselves, but of excellent qualities if directed by superior intellect; a country thrown by Providence into the main stream of expanding civilization, and, according to his conviction, the most favored spot on the surface of the globe.

Froebel is somewhat severe upon the effeminacy of civilized men. His own endurance of fatigue, his patience under hardship, his enjoyment of exposure, show that the European constitution can meet the savage on his own ground, and not come off second best. A student, acquainted with the best European life, he seems to have borne fasting, foot-tramps, unsheltered night-watches, the sultry heat of the plains, followed so soon by the wintry blasts of the mountains, as well as any natives to the manner born. He is philosopher enough to do justice to the working of our institutions, even where they appear to greatest disadvantage, upon the frontiers. The European, he says, who speaks with abhorrence of such a state of society as that of California, only exposes his own poverty of experience and thought. The most enlightened European community could not exist upon a foundation so absolutely democratic, and with so little public authority, without social evils of a far more serious nature. The whole process of development through which the social life of California has passed in a few years he thinks a striking and most instructive instance of the origin, organization, and improvement of human society from motives of advantage and necessity; while the result bears a strong testimony in favor of the political and social usages of the United States, without which this experiment could never have succeeded. No European nation would have had sufficient skill in self-government to answer the wants of a situation like California in its nascent state.

Books like "Fiji and the Fijians" * do much to illustrate the nature of the civilization attained by the South-Sea Islanders. We say civilization, for although Fiji is notorious among heathen nations for its barbarity and ferocious heathenism, it still appears from this book to be in many respects in advance of the other islands of the Pacific. "Side by side with the wildest savagism, we find among the natives of this group an attention to agriculture, and a variety of cultivated produce, not to be found among any other of the islands of the Western Pacific." (p. 46.) Again (p. 65): "An intelligent voyager [Pickering's Races of Man] observes, 'In architecture the Fijians have made no mean progress; and they are the only people I have seen, among those classed by Europeans as "savages," who manifested a taste for the fine arts; while, as with the ancient Greeks, this taste was universal.'" The poetry, too, of the Fijians, to judge by the few specimens quoted, is really not contemptible; the author says (p. 93): "The material for a

* Fiji and the Fijians. By Thomas Williams and James Calvert, late Missionaries in Fiji. Edited by George Stringer Rowe. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 551.

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higher class of poetry evidently exists both in the Fijian mind and language; and there can be no doubt, that as the former becomes refined, so will the latter be exalted by means of Christianity."

With all this, the Fijians are worthy of their reputation. Cannibalism of the most ferocious character still exists among them. Female children are often destroyed at their birth, wives are strangled at their husbands' death, and parents' lives are shortened in extreme old age. They are cowardly, suspicious, covetous, vindictive, deceitful, and fond of inflicting torture, — qualities that naturally belong together. All social life seems to be rendered impossible by these qualities. And yet the affections do exist, because they are human beings. "I have been astonished to see the broad breast of a most ferocious savage heave and swell with strong emotion, on bidding his aged father a temporary farewell. I have listened with interest to a man of milder mould, as he told me about his eldest son, — his head, his face, his mien, — the admiration of all who saw him. Yet this father assisted to strangle his son; and the son first named buried his old father alive." (p. 106.) These cruel practices naturally have grown worse with habit. "Old men speak of the atrocities of recent times as altogether new, and far surpassing the deeds of cruelty which they witnessed fifty years ago."

The religion of the Fijians is satisfactorily treated. "The idea of Deity is familiar to the Fijian; and the existence of an invisible superhuman power, controlling or influencing all earthly things, is fully recognized by him. Idolatry — in the strict sense of the term — he seems to have never known; for he makes no attempt to fashion material representations of the gods, or to pay actual worship to the heavenly bodies, the elements, or any natural objects." The recognized truth that the gods of any people only embody the highest conceptions of that people, is well illustrated by the Fijian divinities. Ndengei, their supreme deity, "passes a monotonous existence in a gloomy cavern, evincing no interest in any one but his attendant, Uto, and giving no signs of life beyond eating, answering his priest, and changing his position from one side to the other." (p. 170.) "TUNAMBANGA is the adulterer. NDANTHINA steals women of rank and beauty by night or torchlight. KUMBUNAVANNA is the rioter; NOBATIMONA, the brain-eater; RAVURAVU, the murderer; MAINATAVASARA, fresh from the cutting up, or slaughter." The characters of these are indicated by their names. The divinations and oracles of the Fijians remind us of those of Greece. "The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague-fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, the veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *Koi*

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au! Koi au! fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer, the priest's eyes stand out, and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear." (p. 177.)

In conclusion, we will say that the book is well written and interesting; but the second part, on the missions, seems to us too minute and detailed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Professor von Raumer gives, in his "Contributions to the History and Improvement of the German Universities," * a sketch of their history, entering sufficiently into the antiquarian details to satisfy the wants of most readers. From him we can obtain an adequate idea of that early constitution of the Universities of Prague, Vienna, Leipsic, &c., which was in general copied from that of Paris, and of the changes it has since undergone. Thus the division into four faculties, of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy, was taken from Paris, and has continued to this time in spite of the incongruities resulting from the progress of scientific studies,—lectures on Botany, Plautus, the Calculus, and Ethics all coming under the one head of Philosophy. The department of Philosophy was, however, originally termed that of *Arts;* the seven liberal arts, which all *magistri artium* are supposed to be masters of, comprising the *Trivium*, — Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics, — and the *Quadrivium*, — Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy; or, as the hexameter verse has them, —

"Lingua, tropus, ratio, numerus, tenor, angulus, astra."

The foundation of the University of Wittenberg in 1502 is an important era in the history of German Universities; it became the headquarters of the new classical school, of the "poets" as they were called, while the "Doctors," or the upholders of the old system of dialectics, which had ruled through the Middle Ages, had their seat chiefly in Cologne. Thus Wittenberg from its very origin was in a position antagonistic to that of the Church, and it was because he was a bold and free-minded man, not chained to the old dialectic methods, that Martin Luther was appointed Professor there.

The historical sketch is, however, mainly made up of the personal experience of the author, whose academical life is nearly coincident with that of the century, as he entered Göttingen as a student in 1801, and now, after serving as Professor in Breslau and Halle, occupies the chair of Mineralogy at Erlangen. The account of his earlier years is interesting, embracing personal reminiscences of Blumenbach, Bekker, Steffens, Schleiermacher, Schiller, Goethe, Gall, Wolf, and others.

* German Universities. Contributions to the History and Improvement of the German Universities. By Karl von Raumer. Reprinted from the American Journal of Education. Edited by Henry Barnard, LL. D., Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin. New York: F. C. Brownell. 1859. 8vo. pp. 256.

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But the chief interest centres in the period of his professorship at Breslau and Halle, in the eventful years from 1810 to 1823.

These were the years of the formation, influence, and overthrow of the *Burschenschaft*, an institution in which the author felt a strong personal interest, and whose history he has related at considerable length. There had always existed associations in the Universities, mostly of a discreditable character, which are sketched in the chapters on *Deposition* or *Beania*, *Pennalism*, *Landsmannschaften*, and *Orders*. The war of Independence, which freed Germany from the French rule, and the events which followed, left all Germany, and especially the students, in a state of enthusiasm and aspiration. The year 1817, the third centennial anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation, gave an opportunity for the expression of this feeling. On the 18th of October, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic, a jubilee was celebrated at Wartburg, the place of Luther's confinement, by about five hundred students from twelve German Universities; two hundred from Jena alone, whose *Burschenschaft* (a society of *Burschen*,* or students) had first proposed the festival. The celebration was successful, and in all respects creditable, except for the burning of some offensive books in the evening by a few of the students, in imitation of Luther's burning of the Pope's bull; a proceeding which here would have been looked upon only as a harmless boyish freak, as it was, but which in Germany created a great outcry and violent opposition to the Burschenschaft. This festival was conducted by the students as individuals under the lead of the *Jena Burschenschaft*, a newly formed society. The next year, on the anniversary of the Wartburg festival, the General German Burschenschaft was founded by delegates from fourteen Universities, meeting at Jena, which soon reached a great popularity, especially from its connection with the *Turners* or Gymnasts. It discouraged duelling, gambling, and other students' vices, and seems to have been in all respects well managed and useful.

The Burschenschaft met, nevertheless, with a good deal of opposition (chiefly on account of the Wartburg affair), which was heightened and embittered by the murder of the dramatist Kotzebue, one of its leading opponents, by a student named Sand, in March, 1819. Karl Sand was a student at Jena, an enthusiastic member of the Burschenschaft, and a *Black*, or "unconditioned" follower of Follenius. Karl Follenius, or as he is better known in this community by his Anglicized name, Charles Follen, was at this time, although little over twenty, a lecturer on civil law at Jena, (previously at Giessen,) where his eloquence and radical views gained him many hearers in the then excited state of the public mind. Of his followers, however, only three at Jena — somewhat more at Giessen — accepted unconditionally his peculiar, but thoroughly republican ideas, and of these three Sand was one. His

* The origin of the word *Bursch* is given as follows (p. 160): "The chest from which poor students were supported at the Sorbonne was called *Bursa*, and such students, *Bursii* or *Bursarii*, *Boursier*. 'A *Boursier* was a poor scholar or student, supported by the *Bursa* of his college. The others, who supported themselves at the University of Paris by their own means, were called *Studiosi*, students.'"

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"philosophy was throughout practical. He required all that is recognized by the human reason as good, beautiful, and true, to be accomplished by means of the moral will. . . . . The state must be organized correspondently with the reason of the members of it." He asserted "that whatever had happened had been brought about by men, and that it might just as well have been otherwise, had men followed a better knowledge, and been willing to put reason in possession of all its rights. But Follenius claimed that he possessed this better knowledge. Politically, he was purely republican; for he would construct the state as it should be from the individual man as he should be." Dr. Follen's views at this time are naturally regarded by our author as dangerous, and subversive — as they certainly were — of the established order of things; but he gives his willing testimonial to his sincerity and blameless life, and acquits him of any participation in Sand's crime. It is not strange, however, that a young man of Sand's dreamy and excitable nature, absorbed in theories of government so bold and fundamental as these, and exasperated by the reproach and ridicule which Kotzebue cast on his favorite project, should brood over the idea of ridding the world of one whom he called "the corrupter of our youth, the defamer of our national history, and the Russian spy upon our fatherland," until his murder became to him a moral necessity. Suspicion at once naturally fell on Follen, and although a careful and inimical investigation was obliged to acquit him of all complicity in the act, which Sand claimed as wholly his own, he was forbidden to lecture longer at Jena, and was obliged to take refuge, first in Switzerland, then in America.

Like all evil deeds, the consequences of Sand's act visited not merely the perpetrator, but his innocent associates, and its disastrous results were long felt. These were years of reaction, and the murder of Kotzebue was eagerly seized upon as an argument by the enemies of progress. The dissolution of the Burschenschaft was immediately determined on by the government, and commanded by a decree of the 18th of October, 1819, the second anniversary of the Wartburg festival. This order was obeyed, so far as appears, promptly and in a good spirit. But the government, once rendered suspicious and jealous, could not stop here. The former members of the Burschenschaft were watched and harassed. A half-dozen students could not meet in friendly companionship without scaring the authorities with the bugbear of the revival in secret of the forbidden union. "They [the students] complained to me," says Professor von Raumer, who was known to be a friend to the students, "that, notwithstanding their punctual obedience to the laws, they were treated as if guilty." Unjust suspicions are never long in creating what they fear, and in place of the orderly and high-toned Burschenschaft, there soon sprang up the "Young Men's Union," whose avowed object was the overthrow of existing governments. "The 'Young Men's Union,' in thinking to surpass the morality and lawfulness of the original Burschenschaft, foolishly passed beyond the sphere of its activity among young men, and attempted to interfere with the relations of actual life, of which it

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knew nothing, and which it was far from being competent to regulate or to change. Thus it happened that its members had to do, not with the paternal academical disciplinary court, but with a criminal court and its severe sentence; that they were measured with the measure of the government, the existing state of which they had permitted themselves to attack. On the 26th of March, 1826, the High Court of Breslau passed sentence upon twenty-eight members of the Union, all of whom except a few were condemned to from two to fifteen years' imprisonment. This was the tragic end of the Young Men's Union."

Mrs. Dall has done in this book * what has not been done before, and what was wanted. She has given us the reasons, sad and stern, why woman's opportunities for work should be enlarged. She has shown what women are already doing, and have done, in a great variety of occupations. She suggests what other pursuits, hitherto untrodden, may be opened to them. The work is timely. To how many young women, longing for some sphere of usefulness, it may bring the hint of that which God meant them to do in the world. Mrs. Dall undervalues her book in calling it, in her motto, "A song for the women," and in "L'envoi," at the close, "beautiful." It is better than a song; better for the time being than beauty. It is solid, wholesome *use*. It is a practical treatise on an important social question. The good, however, of it is in the fact that a *résumé* of it cannot be given in a book-notice. It is crammed with facts. Its merit is in its being a collection of numerous details concerning all that women have succeeded in doing, and in regard to all wherein they may succeed. For this reason it is a book to be bought, kept, referred to, and lent. Its suggestions will be tried and become actual methods. They will lead to other suggestions. The first lecture shows the low rate of wages paid to women for work equal to that for which men are paid much more; shows that many are driven into the grave, and many into lives of sin, by starvation; shows the hardships, sufferings, coarse and degrading labor, into which women are sent by the want of occupations suited to their nature and varied to their demand for it. We do not see how any practical man, any man of common sense, can read these statements and not feel their force. If he will, he may abate one half for exaggeration, (though we see no need of it,) and there will remain enough for full conviction. The second lecture shows that women have already succeeded, under special circumstances, as inventors, agriculturists, masons, translators, teachers of languages, etc., sea-captains, watchmakers, physicians, painters of china, type-setters, newspaper editors, post-*mistresses*, cashiers and tellers in banks, book-keepers, fisherwomen, ticket-sellers on railways, pen-makers, wood-engravers, steel-engravers, druggists, calculators for the Coast Survey and the Nautical Almanac, astronomers, dentists, school-committee women (in the town of Ashfield), registers of

* Woman's Right to Labor; or, Low Wages and Hard Work. In three Lectures, delivered in Boston, November, 1859. By Caroline H. Dall. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

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deeds, painters, sculptors, librarians, lecturers, actresses, etc. The third lecture suggests that they be educated and employed as inspectors of hospitals, prisons, factories, etc.; as box-openers, check-takers, etc.; as barbers and hair-dressers, especially for the sick; as wood-carvers, makers of preserves, etc.; assistants in jails, insane asylums, hospitals; parish ministers or deaconesses, as distinguished from preachers; teachers of schools for servants, and of industrial schools, etc. It also contains some suggestions, which we can only refer to, in regard to offices of intelligence on an improved plan, and some other improvements. This book, we repeat, is one to be bought and kept and read.

THE third number of Bunsen's Bibelwerk has recently appeared, containing the translation and exposition of the books of Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of Kings, executed with the same thoroughness which we noticed in the earlier portions of this most useful and important work.

A SERMON by the Rev. Rufus Ellis on the Sonship, Mediatorship, and Heavenly Glory of Christ is a carefully-considered and well-reasoned answer from an unsectarian position to the question of its text (Matt. xxii. 42), "What think ye of Christ?" It is thoroughly evangelical in its tone and spirit, and has the merit — not too common in discourses of this kind — of being a frank exposition of a doctrine without being polemic, or conceived in the interest of a creed.

AT "New Chapel," in Brooklyn, New York, on every alternate Sunday evening, a service is held called "Vespers," for the conduct of which a liturgical manual* has been prepared by the pastor, Rev. Samuel Longfellow. The selections and arrangement of the book are good; and the only abatement we are disposed to make in our commendation of it is the expression of a doubt whether the changes in the Psalms and "Te Deum" are either desirable or for the better.

OF books for the holidays, enriched with every style of outward decoration or pictured illustration, our space does not admit so much as a catalogue of titles. Besides the few of higher artistic and literary merit, — of which we have noticed two among the best, — one is struck with the great number of standard and choice English poems, from "Comus" to "Hiawatha," reproduced in all the luxury of form and color; also the great improvement made in the illustration of books for children. Among the latter, we would especially mention the English books bearing the imprint of Ticknor and Fields; Ruskin's charming grotesque, "The King of the Golden River" (Mayhew and Baker); and the pleasant series published by Walker, Wise, & Co., entitled "All the Children's Library," a series of six small volumes, adapted to as many stages of childish apprehension.

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* Vespers. Prepared for the Use of the Congregation meeting in New Chapel, Brooklyn. New York: Mann, Stearns, and Beale. 1859.

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Among our new publications, we would call attention to the list of educational works published by Crosby, Nichols, & Co., whose establishment has come to be an emporium of all that is best in that very important field of literature. Our judgment of Crosby's Greek course has already been given. While it by no means supersedes, in the daily uses of the recitation-room, the excellent and convenient manual Grammar of Mr. Sophocles, the teacher is glad to have within reach so admirable a condensation of the philosophy and history of that tongue, along with so distinct and clear an exhibition of its essential forms as that which distinguishes Professor Crosby's Grammar among all others in general use. We are glad to observe that it seems to be steadily taking possession of the market. Why will not the author follow it by a "Greek Reader," adapted to the standard of scholarly and faithful editing, as well as that of college preparation, now demanded?

Among good books of a somewhat earlier date, brought before us in new type and paper, the very handsome Boston edition of "Elia" (William Veazie), the serious and excellent work of Degerando, translated by Miss Peabody (T. O. H. P. Burnham), the solid erudition of Wilkinson's Herodotus, already noticed at length in our pages (republished by Appleton & Co., New York), and the devout and quaint wisdom of Gotthold's Emblems, translated by an English clergyman, deserve special mention. Their titles in full will be found in our list of Publications.

Readers who were attracted to the remarkable papers in Blackwood a year ago, under the titles "Hunger and Thirst," "Food and Drink," etc., will be glad to find them in a volume by themselves, entitled "Physiology of Common Life," with the name of G. H. Lewes as a guaranty at once of their science and their ability.

A new series of "Friends in Council;" a pleasant series of sketches of "Women Artists, in all Ages and Countries;" a full, lively, and excellent history of "the Four Georges," with the notabilities of their reigns, by Mr. Smucker; two fresh volumes of Poems, one by our old friend Mr. Saxe, and one by a new candidate for the poetic wreath from the sunny South, are among the books of the season we should be glad to notice, but for the limitations of space and the incompressible nature of printers' type. Two or three works of a more serious cast, appearing on the very eve of our day of publication, will be suitably considered in a future number.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THEOLOGY AND RELIGION.

The Crucible; or Tests of a Regenerate State. Designed to bring to Light Suppressed Hopes, expose False ones, and confirm the True. By Rev. J. A. Goodhue. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 352.

Sermons preached and revised by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. Sixth Series. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 450.

Hours with the Evangelists. By I. Nichols, D.D. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 8vo. pp. 405. (To be reviewed.)

The Word of the Spirit to the Church. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. (See p. 127.)

Sermons. By Richard Fuller, D.D., of Baltimore. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 384.

Gotthold's Emblems; or, Invisible Things revealed by Things that are made. By Christian Scriver, Minister of Magdeburg in 1671. Translated from the 28th German Edition, by Rev. Robert Menzies. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 316.

Preachers and Preaching. By Rev. Nicholas Murray. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 303.

Helps for the Pulpit; or, Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons. By a Minister. 2 vols. in one. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 12mo. pp. 579.

The Holy Bible (Common Version), in which all the Proper Names are pronounced, and a copious and original Selection of References and numerous Marginal Readings are given, together with Introductions to each Book, and numerous Tables and Maps. New York: Carlton & Porter. 8vo. pp. 1017.

Christian Believing and Living. Sermons by F. D. Huntington, D.D. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 12mo. pp. 528. (To be noticed.)

Jesus, the Interpreter of Nature, and other Sermons. By Thomas Hill. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 241. (To be noticed.)

Here and There; or, Earth and Heaven contrasted. New York: D. Appleton. 18mo. pp. 41.

SCIENCE.

The Physiology of Common Life. By George Henry Lewes. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 368.

A Familiar Compend of Geology for the School and Family. By A. M. Hillside. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 12mo.

Evenings at the Microscope; or, Researches among the minuter Organs and Forms of Animal Life. By Philip Henry Gosse. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 480.

Great Facts; a Popular History and Description of the most Remarkable Inventions during the Present Century. By Frederick C. Bakewell. Illustrated with numerous engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 307.

ESSAYS, ETC.

Self-Education; or, The Means and Art of Moral Progress. Translated from the French of M. le Baron Degerando. By E. P. Peabody. Third Edition, with additions. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 12mo. pp. 468.

Essays of Elia. By Charles Lamb. Boston: William Veazie. 12mo. pp. 466. (A new and very handsome edition, fair type, on tinted paper.)

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The Young Men of America; a Prize Essay. By Samuel Batchelder, Jr. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 70.

Friends in Council; a Series of Readings, and Discourse thereon. A New Series. 2 vols. Boston: James Munroe & Co.

New Miscellanies. By Charles Kingsley. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 12mo. pp. 375.

Introductory Lessons on Mind. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 240.

Hits at American Whims, and Hints for Home Use. By Frederic W. Sawyer. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 274.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Women Artists in all Ages and Countries. By Mrs. Ellet. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 377.

The History of Herodotus; a new English Version, edited, with Copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the Chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. By George Rawlinson, M.A., assisted by Col. Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir J. G. Wilkinson. In four volumes, with Maps and Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 563, 514.

Life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. By Alphonse de Lamartine. New York: Sheldon & Co. 24mo. pp. 275.

A History of the Four Georges; containing Personal Incidents of their Lives, Public Events of their Reigns, and Biographical Notices of their Chief Ministers, Courtiers, and Favorites. By Samuel M. Smucker. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 454. (With Index.)

Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India; being Extracts from the Letters of the late Major W. S. R. Hodson; including a Personal Narrative of the Siege of Delhi, and Capture of the King and Princes. Edited by his Brother, the Rev. George H. Hodson. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 12mo. pp. 444. (See p.)

The History of South Carolina, from its first European Discovery to its Erection into a Republic; with a Supplement, bringing the Narrative down to the Present Time. By W. G. Simms. New and Revised Edition. New York: Redfield. 12mo. pp. 437.

A Popular History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the American Continent to the Present Time. By Mary Howitt. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. Two volumes. 12mo. pp. 406, 387.

Sketches of New England Divines. By Rev. D. Sherman. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo. pp. 443.

POETRY AND FICTION.

The Money King, and other Poems. By John G. Saxe. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 16mo. pp. 182.

Avolio; a Legend of the Island of Cos. With other Poems, Lyrical, Miscellaneous, and Dramatic. By Paul H. Hayne. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 16mo. pp. 244.

A Good Fight, and other Tales. By Charles Reade. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 341.

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Tom Brown at Oxford. A Sequel to "School Days at Rugby." By Thomas Hughes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Part I.

True Womanhood: a Tale. By John Neal. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 12mo. pp. 487.

The Virginians; a Tale of the Last Century. By W. M. Thackeray. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 411. (See p. 115.)

Mary Staunton; or, The Pupils of Marvel Hall. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 398.

The Queen of Hearts. By Wilkie Collins. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 472. (See p. 122.)

The Wife's Trials and Triumphs. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 347.

Apelles and his Contemporaries; a Novel. By the Author of Ernest Carroll. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 12mo. pp. 342.

JUVENILE.

Loss and Gain; or, Margaret's Home. By Alice B. Haven. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 315.

The Florence Stories. By Jacob Abbott. Florence and John. New York: Sheldon & Co. 24mo. pp. 252.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 24mo. pp. 187.

The Oakland Series. Kenny. By George B. Taylor. New York: Sheldon & Co. 24mo. pp. 176.

The King of the Golden River, or the Black Brothers. By John Ruskin. Illustrated by Doyle. Boston: Mayhew & Baker.

All the Children's Library. 1. Noisy Herbert and other Stories; 2. The R. B. R.'s, my Little Neighbors; 3. Bessie Grant's Treasure; 4. A Summer with the Little Grays; 5. Faith and Patience, a Story, and something more, for Boys; 6. Modesty and Merit. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 16mo.

The Old Battle-Ground. By J. B. Trowbridge. New York: Sheldon & Co. 24mo. pp. 276.

The Two Christmas Celebrations, A. D. I. and MDCCCLV. A Christmas Story for MDCCCLVI. By Theodore Parker. Boston: Rufus Leighton. 4to. pp. 46.

Stories of Henry and Henrietta; translated from the French of Abel Dufresne. By H. B. A. With Illustrations. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 12mo. pp. 194.

Frank Wildman's Adventures on Land and Water. By Frederick Gerstaecker. Translated and Revised by Lascelles Wraxall. Eight colored Illustrations. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 12mo. pp. 312.

The Boy Tar; or, A Voyage in the Dark. By Capt. Mayne Reid. Twelve Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 18mo. pp. 356.

The Crusades and the Crusaders. By John G. Edgar. Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 16mo. pp. 380.

Prince Charlie, the Young Chevalier. By Merideth Jones. Eight Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 18mo. pp. 331.

Ernest Bracebridge; or Schoolboy Days. By W. H. G. Kingston. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 18mo. pp. 344.

Life of Lafayette, written for Children. By E. Cecil. Six Illustrations (colored). Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 18mo. pp. 218.

Edith Vaughan's Victory; or, How to Conquer. By Helen Wall Pierson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 18mo. pp. 289.

Home Songs for Little Darlings. Boston: Mayhew & Baker. 18mo. pp. 208.

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EDUCATION.

A Grammar of the Greek Language. By Alpheus Crosby. 27th Edition. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 12mo. pp. 464.

Greek Lessons. By the same. pp. 121.

Tower's Common School Grammar; with Models of Clausal, Phrasal, and Verbal Analysis and Parsing, gradually developing the Construction of the English Sentence. By David B. Tower. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 12mo. pp. 232.

A Natural Philosophy, embracing the most recent Discoveries in its various branches of Physics, and exhibiting the Application of Scientific Principles in Every-day Life. By G. P. Quackenbos. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 450.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Chambers's Encyclopædia; a Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Part VII. Arethusa — Artery. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Family Circle Glee-Book, compiled by Elias Howe. Boston: Russell and Tolman. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 240. (So large a volume, in which "With Verdure Clad" is immediately preceded by "Villikens and his Dinah," cannot fail to gratify every taste.)

Religious Extracts from Shakespeare, compared with Sacred Passages drawn from the Holy Writ. From the English Edition, with an Introduction by F. D. Huntington, D. D. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 226.

Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters. By "Skitt." Illustrated by John McLenan. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 269.

The Prairie Traveller; a Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions. With Maps, Illustrations, etc. By Randolph B. Marcy, Captain U. S. A. New York: Harper and Brothers. 16mo. pp. 340.

Goethe's Correspondence with a Child. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 12mo. pp. 504.

The Skater's Pocket Companion. Boston: Mayhew & Baker.

The White Hills; their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry. By Thomas Starr King. With sixty Illustrations. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 4to. pp. 403. (See p. 142.)

The Diary of a Samaritan. By a Member of the Howard Association of New Orleans. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 324.

PAMPHLETS.

Our English Presbyterian Forefathers. By Henry Solly. London: E. Whitfield. pp. 48.

Leavitt's Farmer's Almanac. 1860. Concord, N. H.: E. C. Eastman. pp. 48.

Address commemorative of Rufus Choate, by Theophilus Parsons. Delivered before the Students of the Law School of Harvard University, at their Request, on the 29th of September, 1859. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. pp. 40.

The Crisis of Unitarianism in Boston, as connected with the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society; with some Account of the Origin and Decline of that Organization. By Bronze Beethoven, "a Looker-on." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. pp. 26.

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. October, 1859. Boston: John Wilson & Son. pp. 36.

The Suspense and Restoration of Faith. By John Cotton Smith. Boston: E. P. Dutton. pp. 26.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MARCH, 1860.

ART. I. — WOMANHOOD.

1. *Love.* ("*L'Amour.*") *From the French of* M. J. MICHELET. Translated from the Fourth Paris Edition, by J. W. PALUER, M. D. New York: Rudd and Carleton. 1859.
2. *Woman: her Mission and Life.* By ADOLPHE MONOD, D. D. Translated from the French. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1858.
3. *A Woman's Thoughts about Woman.* By MISS MULOCH, Author of "John Halifax," etc. New York. 1858.

THE spirit in which these three works are written, and the sources whence they emanate, challenge respectful, if not sympathetic, attention. The antecedents and character, as well as ability of their authors, give them a recognized authority in the discussion of social questions. The first by his humane eloquence as an historian and his benign influence as a man, the second by the pure efficiency of his ministrations at the altar, and the third by the good sense and just insight manifest in her fictions, have respectively established a claim to be heard when either pleading the cause of reform or urging the counsels of wisdom. The appearance of three such books on such a subject is an auspicious sign of the times: it shows how deeply the welfare of woman interests minds of the broadest, the most earnest, and most practical range, inducing them to turn aside from their special vocation, and to throw whatsoever knowledge and conviction they have into the elucidation of

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woman's rights, wants, duties, and destiny. It is remarkable that the most reverential advocacy, in this regard, should come from writers of a nation signalized for gallantry and amusement rather than aspiration, in the relation of the sexes. Michelet treats of woman like a poetical philosopher; Monod, like a Christian pastor. The work of the former is a protest against the complex materialism of the age; that of the latter, a contribution to its religious development. The one goes back to the primal sanctities of nature; the other, upward to the holy safeguards of piety. In the strongest possible contrast to these, the Englishwoman gives judicious advice as to the every-day conduct and patent faults of her sex.

Michelet draws his material from confidential observation. Sentiment and physiology are curiously blended in his argument; from minute psychological observations he turns to matter-of-fact details, — from the emotions of the conjugal heart, to the revelations of anatomical plates, — from the lover's dreams, to the economics of the *menage*, — in a word, from abstract philosophy to the most prosaic facts. Household scenes, as literal as a Flemish interior, alternate on his page with heart-instincts as infinite as life. Solitude and work, diet and religion, birth and death, age and faith, — all the elements, inward and outward, of human life as identified with the family, are described and discussed with a *naïve* freedom and pathos possible only to a humane Frenchman. His nationality is also divertingly exhibited in the egotism of his preferences, and in his ideas respecting mothers, servants, and lovers. Despite these local limitations, however, the general aspect of his subject is rarely lost sight of; and he renders a seasonable and requisite service to the youth of this generation, and especially of his own country, by leading them back, with such wise and winning words, to the divine and neglected instincts of the heart, to the fountains of love and truth and honor and manly self-devotion. He sees through and beyond our self-absorbing civilization; he makes mercenary marriages appear undisguised in all their perverse degradation; he demonstrates the relation between the temperament and character of woman, her

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dependence on physical transitions, and thereby elaborates the most rational defence and justification of her claims;—showing that she "ceaselessly alters her aspects," yet remains intact; that "it is much more man's *indifference* than his *tyranny* that torments her;" and that she is a "miracle of divine contradictions." He unfolds the hygienic laws; he vindicates her destiny as to be realized only through love, and, with not less truth than beauty, describes her aspect and influence in each stage of her development. There is a deep sentiment of humanity in his plea for the maternal sentiment and experience, which, it seems to us, solemnizes what otherwise might seem to trench upon delicacy. In fact, the peculiar merit of Michelet's treatise is scientific. However romantic in expression, he is analytical and practical in his deductions. One of the most significant of these is, that "the complete responsibility for the development of woman rests to-day on him she loves." Unfortunately, however, the best things are not to be taught, and those most favored by circumstances are, it would appear, the least likely to realize the lesson thus eloquently presented. "It is doubtless," says Michelet, "of the most elevated voluntary love that heroes are born;" and this conviction undoubtedly made the historian of a nation a philosopher in his views of society. "I have always," he declares, "present before me in this world the Religion of Love, and the desire of propagating it." The book, with all its French limitations and exaggerations, is so thoroughly inspired by this sentiment, that no humane and wise reader can fail to recognize in it a valuable and seasonable protest and plea. The creative power of the affections and sentiments, and the discipline and delights of legitimate domestic life, have never been more scientifically expounded. A peculiar charm of the work is to be found in its illustrations, which often bespeak the genuine poet. Michelet is fond of art, and is true to the national taste in drawing illustrations at random from that wide domain. Rembrandt's Saint Joseph symbolizes for him the quaint sacredness of domestic occupations; Vandyke's portraits, the eternal youth of soul; Puget's Andromeda, the "beauty of anguish." What we cannot but admire in this

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remarkable book, as a whole, is its union of research and sympathy, of physiological study and æsthetic recognition. By virtue of this rare combination, Michelet brings to the problem he aims to solve a poet's tenderness and imagination with a philosopher's knowledge and analysis. Like almost every French treatise, however, which it has been our lot to examine, the practical value is not proportionate to the amount of ideas; the statement is far more clear and emphatic than the deductions; the programme greatly exceeds the performance. In social as in medical science, the diagnosis is so thorough and satisfactory that we are disappointed at the comparative inadequacy of the remedy. In the present instance, however, the very nature of the subject precludes any absolute practical system; the author's object is mainly *suggestive;* it is for the individual to apply the principles, to recognize the truths, to feel the moral beauty of his argument and his appeal to those pure instincts of the heart in which, more than in any system of material progress, consist the dignity of man and the happiness of woman.

More harmonious and complete, because less discursive, is Monod's appeal; he goes directly to the spiritual mission of woman. Looking beneath the instinctive, he beholds the infinite, and breathes the calm, persuasive logic of religious philosophy. "Influence" he regards as the peculiar sphere of her sex; his book has for its motto, "They who rock the cradle rule the world;" he finds the true solution of whatever is problematical in the destiny and nature of woman, in the Bible. "I say it boldly," he remarks, "of all religions and all systems, Scripture alone has known and understood woman." The spirit of his address to her is affectionate, rational, and religious. "Her vocation is charity." This is the deep conviction of Adolphe Monod; and by it he interprets her mission and her life. "While she is weaker than man, she has more power over him than he over her." This idea simplifies all that is apparently incongruous in the relation of the sexes. No one is more impressed with the liability of women, under the present order of things, to perverted instincts and activity, whereby we find that each characteristic degenerates, — "vigilance into

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curiosity, tact into artifice, penetration into temerity, promptness into unsteadiness, influence into intrigue, power into dominion, sensitiveness into irritability, the power of loving into jealousy, the necessity of being useful into a passion to please." And yet, aware of this, he declares, "My dear sisters, the first aid which man has a right to expect from you is spiritual aid." The tenderness and truth with which this eloquent and endeared preacher advocates this view commends it to the heart, as his argument does to the mind; but it is by the unity of the whole, and not the brilliancy of parts, that his work is effective.

Miss Muloch, on the other hand, instead of analyzing the nature or seeking to elevate the life of her sex, aims at little more than a matter-of-fact and direct treatment of the subject: she takes women as they appear to her in daily life, reproves their most common faults, and announces a few plain maxims of practical wisdom. There is more sense than sympathy, more counsel than philosophy, in her "Woman's Thoughts about Woman:" she leaves the possible for the practicable, and is content to be a humble and conscientious guide along the path of common duty, while the historian deeply explores the nature, and the preacher earnestly invokes the soul of woman. And yet, diverse as are the methods, the style, and even the immediate object of the writers, they agree in asserting the freedom, dignity, and mystery of womanhood, as opposed to speculations having no such root and range; and, going thus back to first principles, they induce us to recognize therein the most available means of reform in the condition, and of delight in the converse of woman.

The inventor of a machine to be acted on by wind or water is deemed a bungler if he does not construct it according to hydraulic and pneumatic laws; but the social reformer is unchallenged by the popular reason, even if his theories ignore the system of life and development established since the advent of man. Society is regarded as a sphere of limitless experiment, and character as an instinct of undefined capacity. The relation of science to the ele-

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ments has been so triumphantly demonstrated, that somewhat analogous possibilities are recognized as belonging to humanity. By will and intelligence it is imagined that the primal affections, needs, and laws of our nature can be not only modified, but superseded. So far is this from being true, that one of the most striking facts of our civilization is the union of new mechanical and material resources with the identical passions, sympathies, tendencies, and traits which have characterized men and women from the earliest time. A clearer sense of this distinction between means and ends, mind and matter, thought and mechanism, the soul and the physical universe, would serve to discipline the visionary and awe the charlatan. There is a cant of progress which deludes the unobservant, dazzled by the extraordinary advance of ideas and achievement in certain directions, and bewildered by wonderful economical discoveries, which have changed the aspects and arrangements of society. It is taken for granted, by the enthusiastic and superficial, that the external and palpable progress is a moral and personal one; that there has been a psychological as well as a scientific revolution; that the nature of man and woman, not their environment and condition, are in the process of transformation. Hence the wild schemes, the reckless inferences and flimsy generalizations, which are daily applied to social and individual welfare.

The progress of science, so far from encouraging reckless social innovations, by analogy emphatically points to natural law as the only measure of truth. It is only by obedience to that that human welfare is advanced, and, therefore, to know the limits and direction which Nature assigns to woman's development is the first process towards any actual reform of woman's condition. Unpalatable to imaginative theorists as the fact may be, it is quite as requisite to consult physiology as poetry in carrying out the legitimate idea of Woman's Rights. The moment we turn from speculation to fact, from theory to nature, we find a provision so admirable, instincts so absolute, capabilities so adaptive, that it seems profane to interfere, however kindly, with such a masterpiece; and all that wisdom suggests, in the premises,

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is to secure a range and a protection, an outward comfort and a moral recognition, such as, on the whole, the average sentiment and customs of modern society do maintain in behalf of women. As to changing her nature, modifying her instinctive character, perverting her destiny, it is an experiment which, like the gymnastics that develop single muscles, or the iron shoe that contracts the Chinese foot, can only result in deformity. It is not the man of gallantry or the philanthropist that most justly estimates woman: it is the natural philosopher. He recognizes in her art of pleasing a means of realizing what is not attainable through her limited executive power; in her perspicacity he beholds a compensation for the want of that philosophic method of reaching truth that distinguishes the masculine intellect. Nice observation is indispensable to minds inadequately endowed with causality; where emotion predominates, interest is absorbed in the immediate; delicacy of nerve and muscle imply greater dependence; quick to see but slow to generalize, with more tact than reflection, more taste than philosophy, more receptive than creative intellectuality. In all this, and much more which physiology reveals, we find established laws of nature which can neither be violated with impunity nor ignored without fallacy. Hence the protest of both men of science and men of sentiment against some of the ironically called "strong-minded" women; hence the physiologist declares that excessive mental labor in women, as a general rule, would "require a development of the head which is often fatal in parturition, and would repress that sensibility which makes them so superior to men in sentiment and affection." On the same principle, Rousseau declared, "Bring them up like men, and the more they resemble them the less they will govern them." Their need of love, their imperfect friendship, their alleged curiosity and inability to keep a secret, the resentment which follows a wound to their self-love, the restless union of remarkable talent with feminine sentiment, as in De Staël, Charlotte Brontë, and others, the resort to artifice, and the presence of mind, which, in common talk, we ascribe to woman, are directly traceable to peculiarities of constitution,

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to facts of nature and temperament in which consists her essential individuality. They insinuate no lesson of inferiority, but proclaim that the Creator laid in the deep and absolute foundation of *instinct* the vital and moral interests of humanity, too precious to be confided to the wayward reason and the uncontrolled will of man. "It is a universal rule," says Michelet, "which as far as I know has no exception, that great men always resemble their mothers."

All the sewing-machines ever invented will not supersede the dainty occupation of the hands wherewith women beguile their nervousness and gratify their taste, and have done so from the days when Penelope overlooked her maidens at their spinning to the present hour, when crochet-work speeds under fair fingers, while our pleasant *tête-à-tête* goes on. Schools of design, accounts, tuition, the lighter mechanic arts, and other lucrative occupations, as well as literature, science, and art, will doubtless more and more engage the skill and promote the independence of women; but these exigencies of life and of special talent will not change the original and absolute relation of the sex to society, annihilate her personal mission of sympathy and grace, nor supersede the beauty of her presence and her special duties in the world of action and of love. Economy is one thing, social life another; skill and industry have their part in life, and so have human intercourse, affinity, and domestic relations. The latter are primary, the former incidental and contingent; and therefore that is a limited and short-sighted theory which deals with the material interests and political rights of women as the basis and the means of their peculiar welfare. Martineau justly remarks, that "the saintly is beyond the heroic mind;" and while the historical exigencies which bring the latter into play are less frequent now, the former is a phase of womanly character which he must be indeed unfortunate who has not intimately known in the circle of his kindred and friends. Its influence is necessarily private in its operation, though one of the most effective forms of humanity. Indeed, the best elements of womanly attraction — sentiment, character, and faith — are, in a great degree, sequestered, intimate, and exclusive, and not to be

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estimated by any external gauge or standard; and what are called her rights are so identified with these, that the more actual they are, the less are they claimed and exhibited. Her true power is not ostensible, but latent; it is felt rather than proclaimed, known rather than defined. "Nature has been very kind to them," wrote Jerrold, in allusion to their tears: "next to a rhinoceros, there is nothing in the world armed like a woman."

We place no faith in experiments which are based on exceptional, not on natural facts. We have all known women who seemed intellectually adapted to a masculine career, and unfitted for conformity to domestic routine, — women in whom literary, artistic, or executive tendencies and talent outweighed the conjugal and maternal instincts, to whom household economies were irksome, intellectual talk a delight, mental labor congenial; and not less familiar are energetic women, without near ties, who crave a useful sphere of activity, — childless women who have a surplus both of time and feeling, which they judiciously dedicate to books or horticulture, charities or hospitality, according to their respective tastes. But such instances are not precedents, and cannot invalidate the average testimony of experience. In addition to these are such examples of personal grievance or extraordinary endowment as claim, on the one hand, special redress, and, on the other, a special career. Caroline Norton's pamphlet tells a very different story from Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese:" the one awoke a response from the most conservative journalism of England, full of sympathy; the other are, in our opinion, the most perfect utterance of woman's love ever breathed by one of the sex. Who can see Ristori act, read Hannah More, or take Mrs. Jameson for a guide through a gallery of art, without acknowledging that the peculiar gifts which each exhibits demand a peculiar sphere and justify self-dedication thereto?

There are two aspects of this versatile theme wherein reform is both needed and practicable, — the economical and the educational; new employments and a better culture for woman the exigencies of life and the spirit of the age demand.

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Of the former, Europe yields abundant prosperous examples in the useful arts, trade, and social economy, and the latter has found an illustrious series of advocates from De Foe to Sydney Smith; but while we admit earnestly the claims of both, and sympathize with all rational experiments by means of which either can be promoted, we cannot lose sight of the fact that other and deeper wants and more essential deficiencies are included in and explain the prevalent discontent and speculation in regard to woman's condition and social needs. Pecuniary independence and wholesome activity are vast blessings, and intellectual discipline and attainments a noble resource; and yet it is by no means uncommon to witness the triumph of both without any corresponding satisfaction or development in women. So repulsive were the unfeminine traits incident to female erudition and literary display in the days of the Spectator and subsequently, that they were distinctions from which modest women shrank and refined men turned in dismay. So hard and calculating does shopkeeping and executive tact make the middle class of Frenchwomen, that, even in a nation renowned for taste and gallantry, a demoralizing materialism absolutely confounds the relations of the sexes. To preserve what is real in the instinctive, and what is ideal in the possible woman, — to cherish that sacred mystery whereby, through beauty, grace, love, and intuition, Nature ordains her peculiar ministry and triumph, — that which Plato and Dante celebrated as an element of psychological faith, — that attested by German philosophy and Italian song, Scotch ballads and Irish melodies, patriarchal lineage and mediæval chivalry, English homes and Spanish tradition, — hallowed by the mother of Samuel, the wife of Jacob, the daughter of Jephtha, the "Loves of the Poets," the fair heroic forms that clung undismayed to the martyrs of English liberty and to persecuted Christians, — by the vigilant, loyal, wise, benign, lovely, and beloved of the day, from Eve to the latest of her daughters, who have inspired hero or bard, from the women who were "first at the cross and last beside the tomb" to the one whose glance cheered thy heart or whose smile rekindled thy faith to-day; — to preserve and to realize this sacred distinction, under all forms

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of experience, however commonplace and wearisome, is at once the beatitude of life, the safeguard of citizenship, the redeeming charm of woman's lot and man's devotion.

In the human as in the natural world the most benign and potent agencies are often the least apparent: it is by the result far more than the process that we know that secret ministry of light, frost, dew, and air whence come the radiant tints of flowers, the vital torpor of germs, the renewed sap of vegetation, the maturity of the boundless harvest. It is characteristic of an age essentially material and practical, that occult elements and latent affinities in life and character are ignored. Those who are vociferous in behalf of a more palpable civic activity for women are comparatively insensible to her æsthetic dignity and influence; those who expect great ameliorations in society from the modification of her legal status, are comparatively unaware of the free and beautiful agency she instinctively fulfils. It argues a moral scepticism thus to contend for outward privilege, when, justly appreciated, the undefined and absolute function is so noble and lovely; it betrays a deficiency of legitimate scope and consciousness on the one hand, and of pure recognition on the other, when such faith is exhibited in the efficacy of conventional freedom as a means and a pledge of womanly aptitude and happiness. There are certain truths of humanity only known through sympathetic insight: mere observation and logic fail to reach them. In the private heart alone — in the latent process that moulds character, develops sentiment, and endears life, in the sphere of love, faith, and duty — can the grand solution of what is problematic in the position and destiny of woman be found.

Modern civilization, especially Anglo-Saxon civilization, has removed most of the outward barriers, and recognized the social claims of the sex. What of evil now darkens their lot is mainly contingent, inevitable, common, and to be remedied by the resources of character rather than of law. In no era or country have the prerogatives of woman, her claims to respect, her aspirations for culture, social distinction, and domestic supremacy, been more candidly and earnestly upheld than here and now. Instances of the reverse

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are exceptional, and find no countenance from public sentiment. Accordingly, we are justified in regarding dissatisfaction with her lot here and now, under average circumstances, as the evidence not so much of imminent social wrong as of actual personal inadequacy, — as a state of mind not to be relieved by the privilege of voting, or facility of divorce, or enlarged rights of property, — as a discontent springing from perverted instincts rather than unrecognized rights. A gregarious life has blunted the original sympathies which bind woman to nature and humanity; indiscriminate love of admiration has enamelled the sensitive and receptive faculties; intellectual hardihood, material tastes, or frivolous employments have indurated or sapped her nature; — in a word, from lack of endowment or error of experience, her æsthetic mission is foregone; and the ill-defined consciousness thereof attributes to some outward force of law or custom what springs from her personal incompetencies. In all mythologies, in all national poems, and in all history, this æsthetic influence of woman, this spontaneous action upon character, and, through character, upon events, by the affections, has been recognized in spite of the social degradation and legal disabilities of the sex. Whatever era of the past, whatever hero or sage we invoke, therein sooner or later, at one point or another, we take up a thread of destiny, an element of inward life vitally inwrought with this womanly empire and sanction. It is impossible to glance over a gallery of art or a library in which are collected the trophies and tokens of the world's best life, without realizing that womanhood underlies and inspires the achievements, the faith, and the hope of the world, — not always palpably, as represented in office, codes, defined rights, organized sway, but intrinsically, as indicated by the motive, the affinity, the tenderness, or the truth whereon all effective and memorable human action is built. And it is this latent manifestation, this unconscious, and, as it were, sequestered power, in which its beauty and its universality consist. Wise men have speculated upon it as a mystery; the Vita Nuova, the Divina Commedia, — Petrarch, Milton, Richter, — the men who have best united thought to passion, and learning to love,

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are the expositors thereof. And when we group the illustrations, and trace the consecutive results of this great moral fact, how vulgar the hankering for woman's political action, how short-sighted and material seem the current ideas of her rights and mission, how insensible to her genuine and natural prerogative, how blind to her noblest ministry and satisfaction! A modern poet, distinguished for his true insight and intense appreciation of the graces and the grandeur of female charms and character, for their own sake, — their absolute place and power in the world and human life, — has drawn an exquisite portraiture called "A Dream of Fair Women." As we read it, we feel that beauty is literally queen in all ages and nations; but the illustration becomes overwhelming when we include the memorable instances of genius, devotion, and character with those of loveliness.

When bloody anarchy convulsed France, it was the womanly fortitude of Madame Roland and the self-devotion of Charlotte Corday that hallowed scenes of brutality and assassination. We recall Madame Guyon with Fénelon, Arbella Johnson with John Winthrop, Isabella with Columbus, Aspasia with Pericles, Josephine with Napoleon, Ann Hutchinson with the New England Puritans, Pocahontas with the aborigines, Lady Franklin with Arctic discovery, Florence Nightingale with the Crimean war. Always and everywhere, beside the leader is the heroine; with the event, the ministering woman; in the triumph, the gentle participant; at the martyrdom, the consoler. The most unobservant traveller encounters the memorials of this pervading element of life and history. Andromache greets him on ancient tapestry; Rebecca and Hagar, Cleopatra and Judith, Ruth and Penelope, Sappho and Lucretia, St. Cecilia and Herodias and Miriam, upon canvas and in marble, become familiar. At Versailles the heroines of the *salon*, at the opera the prototypes of all that is tragic in the destiny or lovely in the sentiment of woman, from Mary Stuart to Semiramide, and from Lucia to Lucrezia Borgia, imprint themselves in melody upon his imagination; Joan of Arc and the Fornarina, Beatrice Cenci and St. Helena, Heloise and the Maid of Saragossa, Leonora d'Este and La Vallière, reappear

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in plaintive verse, vivid portraiture, or sepulchral effigy; at Hampton Court, and in the Munich palace, through the pencils of Lely, Gainsborough, Reynolds, and Lawrence, he traces the rustic graces, the domestic saints, and the umpires of fashion, who ruled the hearts and captivated the senses of those whose lives represent national history. Dramatic memoirs open another vista wherein the women of the stage are interwoven with literary and social traits, and represent dominant tendencies either in popular taste or local manners. The conversation of France, the music of Germany, the political intrigues and standard poetry of Italy, and the private life of all countries, reflect or embody an identical human inspiration. Art and authorship, legend and letters, martial and scholastic, royal and diplomatic careers, alike testify the vast and deep relation of woman to the vicissitudes, the force, and the character of both active and speculative life.

The ancient idealization of woman inspired by chivalry is modified only to become more human and typical in modern poetry. Milton's Eve may be taken as the exemplar of this modification, which is manifest, in exquisite variety, through the whole range of English bards whose verse has identified itself with our homes and hearts; and thereby proves that what the individual sings meets a universal response, as celebrating what is more or less within the scope of general experience, in such women as Coleridge's Genevieve, the Laodamia and Lucy of Wordsworth, Hood's Ruth, Tennyson's Alice and Mariana, Browning's Evelyn Hope, Motherwell's Jeanie Morrison, and of American popular heroines drawn from nature, Florence Vane, Annabel Lee, and Maud Müller. The art of the novelist has drawn its best charms from this sphere. Scott's Rebecca and Die Vernon, his Minna and Brenda, Lucy Ashton and Jeanie Deans, Victor Hugo's Esmeralda, Goethe's Mignon, Charlotte Bronté's Jane Eyre, with so many other female characterizations to which we familiarly refer, seem to designate not so much individuals as representative women, bearing indirect but most emphatic testimony to the æsthetic action and reaction of those relations which coarse reformers esteem so lightly, and would sacrifice to mere

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external prominence. The honor we pay to women whose disinterestedness and sympathy circumstances make public, is not derived from the exceptional, but the normal truth; how many Florence Nightingales, Lady Franklins, and Grace Darlings are endeared to fond memories, of whom the world shall never hear! Turn from Cecilia Metella's massive tomb to Bryant's "Conqueror's Grave," — from Madame Recamier, cheering men of wit and wisdom by her graceful and benign intelligence, to Mary Lamb, writing books for children while she keeps the long vigil of sisterly devotion; recall the tears a nation shed for the Princess Charlotte, and hear Zimmerman's dying wife exclaim, "Who now will understand thee?" or read Madame de Sévigné's letters inspired by maternal love; and is it not apparent that the affections won and exercised by women are knit into the very life, not only of society, but of genius? As much of philosophical truth as of charming romance is discoverable in the spontaneous and memorable testimony of literature to the worth and attraction of woman. Here art grows exquisite and logic eloquent, from the plaintive music of "Mary in Heaven," to the delicate insight of "The Princess," and the richly tinted imagery of "The Eve of St. Agnes." We acknowledge this, whether we gaze with dim eyes upon the portrait of Cowper's mother, or follow Cousin through salon and boudoir to note the graces of the Duchesse de Longueville, or listen to the melodious tributes of Byron and Moore, of Tennyson and Béranger and Tasso, or commune with Shakespeare's noble phalanx of fair creatures, or pause in love and awe beside Dante, oblivious of the shades of Hades, to catch the tearful accents of Francesca da Rimini!

Perhaps the reality and prevalence of our recognition at least of the sentiment to which womanhood appeals, is in no way more significantly indicated than by the discussion of the female characters of popular fiction. How universal the indifference to the women of Cooper's novels, how tame and artificial appear Clarissa Harlowe and Laura Matilda, how unanimous the judgment which declares Dickens incapable of delineating a lady, how deep the protest against the unmitigated selfishness of Thackeray's female caricatures! On the other hand, Bal-

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zac, by his keen perception, his analytical power, his sympathetic insight, became the interpreter of woman's life and consciousness; he unveiled a new interest in their behalf, not by romantic exaggeration or types of ideal perfection, but by exposing the intensity, variety, and beauty of their feelings,—their mysteries of sentiment, their most delicate and occult traits, and the whole philosophy of their influence. He created a new genus in characterization, discovering the charm and the resource of woman in her maturity; he entered so deeply into the instinctive action and reaction of the female heart, that, instead of adoring him as an idol, it flew to him as a confidant, and deferred to him as a seer. His illustrious countryman satirically wrote of woman, "C'est un animal difficile à connaitre." Balzac essayed the exploration with the scientific tact of his nation; and, however far from models may be some of his heroines, he has done infinite service to women by unfolding the psychological interest of their natures and their empire. It is indeed to be regretted that the French capital, with its artificial and complicated luxury and recklessness, is the scene and mould of such wonderful delineations of character; but in Eugenie Grandet, the wife of Balthasar Claes, and others, we have instances as pure as they are genuine.

Scott portrays women more by illustration than by analysis; yet by the genuineness of his conception he gives a typical reality to each character. The day-dreams of Lucy Ashton give us the key-note of her nature. "In her retired chamber, or in the woodland bower which she had chosen for her own, she was in fancy distributing the prizes at the tournament, or raining down influence from her eyes on the valiant combatants, or she was wandering with Una, or she was identifying herself with the simple yet noble-minded Miranda in the isle of wonder and enchantment. But in her relations to the exterior things of this world, she willingly received the ruling impulse from those around her." So likewise a single trait of Flora McIvor identifies her thenceforth. "In Flora's bosom the zeal of loyalty burned pure and unmixed with any selfish passion." The feeling Minna Troil excites reveals her individuality: "Most men, when they knew that her melancholy had no ground in

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real sorrow, and was only the aspiration of a soul bent on more important objects, could scarce have desired that, graceful as she was in her natural and unaffected seriousness, she should change that deportment for one more gay." The first recorded colloquy with Die Vernon lets us into the characteristics of her tone and temper, subsequently developed without the least inconsistency: "There was a mixture of native simplicity as well as of native shrewdness and haughty boldness in her manner, and all were modified by the play of the most beautiful features." This distinct moral limning, united to personal details so exact that artists have made recognized portraits therefrom, give to Sir Walter's heroines the distinction of memorable precedents, so that we have all known women to whom, in imagination, we habitually apply their names; and thus the least sentimental of novelists has found in unexaggerated female character the most prolific source of his enchantment. That he consciously drew these creations from nature is not only attested by the homely genuineness of such a being as Jeanie Deans, but by his own expressed theory of art and life. "I have read books enough," he remarked to Lockhart, "and conversed with enough of eminent and splendidly cultivated minds, too, in my time, but I assure you I have heard higher sentiments from the lips of poor, uneducated men and women, when exerting the spirit of severe yet gentle heroism under difficulties and afflictions, or speaking their simple thoughts as to circumstances in the lot of friends and neighbors, than I ever yet met with out of the pages of the Bible. We shall never come to feel and respect our real calling and destiny, unless we have taught ourselves to consider everything as moonshine compared with the education of the heart."

The remarkable fact in regard to the women of Shakespeare is, that, while in the view of poetry and criticism they are absolute and endeared ideals of female character, in familiar conversation and writing they are referred to as actual existences. Herein is the warrant of their authenticity, as well as peerless beauty and power. The coincidence is an unconscious tribute to Shakespeare's creative inspiration on the one hand, and his profound insight and observation on the other.

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Our explanation of the double recognition of the ideal and real of female humanity thus manifest is that Shakespeare seized the *elemental* truth while he expatiated in the sphere of fanciful perfection. We may find it difficult to discover any prototype of Miranda and Hermione; but we instinctively feel that, given the same circumstances and traits, exactly such words and actions would result as these heroines utter and enact. Isolate a noble and pure girl with only Nature and Wisdom, and she would express her love with the *naïve* simplicity of the candid maiden of the enchanted isle; bring up a delicate creature in the midst of harsh and remote associations, and she would have the reticent gentleness of Cordelia; attempt to degrade a wise and elevated woman, like Isabella, and she would argue on the same high strain; and imagine a woman nerved into fiend-like hardihood by ambition, and she would utter such incredible apostrophes as those whereby Lady Macbeth urged on her scrupulous lord to crime. The materials, the essential qualities, of Shakespeare's women abound: it is combination, the opportunity and impulse requisite for their development, that are wanting; and it is in inventing these, and not in the characteristics themselves, that the bard has drawn upon imagination. What susceptible and acute traveller has not found in a sequestered Italian girl the identical childlike love, overspreading, permeating her being and utterance, which in Juliet we call romantic? Who that has been the confidant of a neglected woman has not been questioned in regard to the rival beauty, precisely as Octavia asked about Cleopatra? Are not Mrs. Quicklys and Marias encountered still in every village? Do we not know of maternal grief like that of Constance, conventional weakness like that of Lady Anne, girlish vivacity and wit which seem caught from Rosalind, sensibility so refined as to be jarred into madness, like Ophelia's, womanly dignity, firmness, grace, delicacy, ingenuous emotion, and sublime trust, which we find absolutely recorded, as if from the sources of our personal observation and sympathy, in the very words of Helena, Katherine, Perdita, Viola, Imogen, and Desdemona? It is not, therefore, as representations of the highest and best in woman that Shakespeare's characters are mainly significant: it is as illustrations of the instinctive, the

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spontaneous, the normal traits of the sex, that these creations are as philosophically invaluable as they are poetically dear. They show the *nature* of woman; and it is the painful contrast between this in its elemental forms, as revealed by the poet, and what society, life, the world makes her, that assures us, with keen emphasis, that in proportion as she wanders from the sphere of the instinctive, and the seclusion of the hearth, so her actual position becomes anomalous, and her special power diminished.

It is, indeed, the custom to regard the sphere to which woman's trials and triumphs so largely belong — the sphere of the sentiments — as of a secondary importance in actual life, and quite apart from its practical issues. This is an inevitable result of the utilitarian habitudes and the material philosophy now so operative. That it is a vital error, all who look beneath the surface of life will at once perceive, — since, in the last analysis, civilization is fostered exactly in the ratio that these latent springs of action, motives, and sanctions are directly influential, giving birth to and maintaining, first, domestic life in its purity, then, enlightened civic rule, art, education, refined social intercourse, honor, taste, religion itself. To our apprehension, there is a beautiful and but partially apprehended sanction of this superiority of sentiment over sense and use, in the scene recorded by the Evangelists, when the woman who poured costly ointment over Christ was reproved for wasting that which could relieve the poor. The feeling which consecrated the act was recognized by the Great Teacher as not only justifying, but making it beautiful and holy. "A sentiment of reverent affection inspired Mary," writes one whose frank and loving spirit makes him a luminous interpreter,* — "a *sentiment more nourishing to the world than a thousand deeds of common charity.*"

Nor is this empire and agency less innate and absolute in its origin and effect when unprincipled, selfish, or blindly impassioned. In the evil as well as the good, the mischief not less than the blessedness, this law of indirect, occult power is manifest. The forms in which female deception,

* Rev. Dr. Furness.

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intrigue, baneful supremacy, or heartless chicanery are expressed, from the highest tragedy to the most casual gossip, attest a social force, a personal sway, all the more permeating and real because undefined by code or formula. Hence both the blessing and the bane are celebrated in poetry with like emphasis. Acute and susceptible students of character are never weary of recording the illusive charms they can neither resist nor confide in. The hero of one is described as a victim to the "*grande folie de notre epoque, il cherchait une femme par laquelle il pût etre compris.*" "Dieu a placé la femme," writes another, "aupres de l'homme *pour qu'il ne fasse trop grandes choses.*" A late reviewer plausibly explains the separation of Shelley from his first wife by the inconvenience his aspirations caused; "the common female mind prefers usual tastes, settled manners, customary conversation, defined practical pursuits." Leopardi, one of the most pure and lofty men of genius modern Italy has produced, uniting deformity and fragility of person with deep sensibility and profound insight, condemned both to feel all the attractions and to read all the mysteries of female character, has left on record, in the midst of his high speculations, learned theses, and grand verse, the plaintive confession that the union of beauty and artifice in his experience of the sex was such a moral incongruity that *fear* was the prevailing emotion they woke in his noble soul. The reaction is, indeed, as complete as the proclivity in all that relates to the sentiment she inspires; and the very horror a Lucretia Borgia excites, or the pity a Nelson's weakness awakens, are unconscious tributes to the benign possibilities of womanly character.

It is not want, but rather excess of freedom, which here militates with womanly content; the exercise of choice and free-will, of self-guidance and personal caprice or taste, does not bring the gratification anticipated. Eagerness for political scope may spring from unsatisfying private environment; and the cause of this, as well as its prevalence, cannot be accounted for by civic disabilities or social wrong; it arises from certain special disadvantages. Among these we consider one of the most obvious a premature famil-

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iarity with the world. It has been often remarked by foreigners, that young girls in America are often more *blasé* than matrons. The reason is that the latter, educated under a different system, did not exhaust their freshness of heart before marriage. Another misfortune to which our women are peculiarly exposed is the want of what may be called sympathetic appreciation, — their greatest need, and quite a different thing from the respect and indulgence they habitually receive. A man absorbed all day in traffic or toil, returning home weary at night, is in a state of mind which is better solaced by the newspaper, the club, conviviality, or sleep, than by female accomplishments and "division of the records of the mind;" accordingly, our women lose the motive, and with the motive the desire, to foster their special gifts; and where good housekeeping is the great requirement, by degrees either sink aspiration therein or look abroad for solace. Hence it is not uncommon for the young wife, whose time had for years been absorbed in petty domestic cares, until her charms had begun to pale and her mind to contract, to regain her youthful appearance and become elastic in spirit, alive to poetry and knowledge, to sentiment and sympathy, when she enjoys leisure, observation, and the varied interest of life abroad. Again, the fashionable boarding-school, hotel life at watering-places, facility of social intercourse, early emancipation from the influences of home, free access to the countless, and for the most part superficial excitements of American life, all tend to corrupt and pervert what is most lovely in character and capable in soul, thus anticipating both physically and morally the legitimate development of body and mind, of heart and intelligence, through which are realized both the grace and the gratifications of true womanhood: these are conspicuous in the English mother, the Tuscan peasant, and in the French *artiste*, at an age when they are forfeited in the bright, pretty, animated, but nervous, incomplete, confident American girl. An English lady of the middle class, who spent some years in this country, wrote, on her return, to friends, that not a day passed without regret "for that paradise of woman, America," — alluding to the protection and consideration

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enjoyed by her sex as such; and her experience was not unique in this regard. Yet if our women prefer an establishment to the gratification of their sympathies, a mercenary marriage to true companionship in that relation, and any marriage rather than single life, it is unjust to refer the disappointment incident to such compromise of sentiment to defective laws or oppressive social restrictions; in truth, no small part of female discontent arises directly from perversity for which they are responsible. Richter avowed compassion for him whose mother had not made all women sacred; and it is a psychological fact, that only by a genuine relation can the significance of her mission be realized. Perhaps, with all its vaunted superiority, modern civilization, by developing intellect at the expense of soul, and improving the machinery to the neglect of the inspiration of life, has diminished the prevalence of the sentiments and overlaid the normal instincts whereby this mission fulfils itself. Such at least is one manner of explaining the constant reference of social discontent to outward restrictions, the root whereof is in the very nature of manhood and womanhood, and only to be removed by loyalty thereto.

A strange oversight of native peculiarities is manifest in all discussions of woman's claims and sphere. National traits are often more marked in women than in men. Shelley, with a poet's affinity, recognized the repose and artlessness of a large class of Italian women, as, despite their limited culture, refreshing to soul and sense. The quick observation and adaptive power of Frenchwomen, with their vivacious organization, explains their social fascination. A certain concentration of feeling, born of pride and passion, accounts for the heroic tendency and royal patience which makes Spanish women so attractive to romantic minds. The mercurial sensibility of the Irish, chastened by breeding in the higher classes of that race, has made the Irish lady the general favorite of the men of all nations, at once susceptible and fastidious. The vital resources of the Englishwoman, conserved by domestic habitudes, render her prominent as the type of family virtue; on the other hand, the cosmopolitan influences and excitable climate of America are discernible

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in the premature loveliness and brief prime of our country-women. These different qualities identify the daughters of each nation as emphatically as their respective civilizations.

From these general characteristics we may ascend to special varieties, so actual that common parlance defines them. "Certes," says one of the most acute delineators of the sex, "il y a des femmes de menage, des femmes d'agrément, des femmes de luxe, des femmes exclusivement épouses ou mêres ou amantes, des femmes purement spirituelles ou purement materielles comme il y a des artistes, des soldats," etc. There is as great a diversity in the generalized types of the sex. What, for instance, can be more apart, as objects of association, than the Madonna and the Sibyl, the Muse and the Witch, the Blue-stocking and the Sister of Charity? In specific departments of life the action of women is quite as individual as that of men. Maria of Austria bears no more resemblance, as a sovereign, to Queen Elizabeth, than does Charles the First to Frederic the Great; Rosa Bonheur's artistic genius is as far removed in quality and kind from that of Angelica Kaufmann, as Vandyke's from Landseer's. Can there be imagined a greater contrast of talent than Rachel chanting the Marseillaise and Jenny Lind warbling "Coming through the Rye"? In literature the extremes are yet more apparent; compare Joanna Baillie's tragedies with Miss Ferrier's novels; George Sand's impassioned characterizations with Mrs. Somerville's scientific expositions; Miss Edgeworth's or Miss Austen's calm sense with the glowing sentiment of Mrs. Hemans; Mrs. Jameson's insight with Miss Martineau's observation; Mrs. Gore's pictures of fashions with the Countess d'Ossoli's enthusiasm for truth; the comprehensive genius of Elizabeth Browning with the deep soul of Madame de Stael. In these, and innumerable other varieties of intellectual women, we cannot but admit a versatility of gifts not less extensive than that which distinguishes the men illustrious in authorship. And yet, with a curious perversity, the minds of women are habitually regarded as homogeneous and identical, limited and uniform; we speak of what is desirable for them in education, in work, in social arrangement, as a unity, and not with the "respect of per-

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sons," the recognition of individuality, wherewith we discuss the wants, aims, and prospects of *man*kind. Herein, we conceive, lies the great practical error, at least in regard to the best endowed of the sex. Some of them are as signally created for art, adventure, scholarship, enterprise, benevolent activity, or science, as the masculine votaries in each of these spheres; and others as obviously born with peculiar affinities, moral and intellectual, in which consists their proper felicity. Enlightened social recognition of the individuality of woman would brighten her lot more than any possible legal enactment. What is common to the sex is physiological, and this undoubtedly induces a certain uniformity of character; but beyond and above this uniformity are traits and tendencies as distinct and personal as any masculine peculiarities. The cant which ascribes a prevailing cast of mind and sentiment to women, originated when they were unexposed to the complex influence of modern civilization, — when Oriental constraints and isolation limited and made identical their development. Variety of occupation, large opportunity, free companionship, personal culture, have utterly changed these conditions; and literature, society, domestic life, and daily experience continually illustrate the wide diversities and essential indviduality of female character; whereof the greatest proof is found in the consciousness of the other sex. For to this, in the last analysis, we most confidently appeal; it is the "noble women we have known," and not those of whom we hear and read, — it is the sense of personal obligation, the memory of sacred happiness, the thought of what has most cheered and charmed, exalted and made content our life and heart, which justifies the traditional glory and attests the hallowed personality of woman to us all. It is not, therefore, by a *catalogue raisonné* of the sex, nor, indeed, by any induction based on accumulated facts of history and observation, that her inestimable value in a social, and the limitless interest in an æsthetic point of view can be realized. We must coalesce with human qualities to know them; we must experience the throb and the thrill, the consolation and the repulsion, the kindness and the heartlessness, or they remain

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merely nominal traits. Only he whose memory conjures up, at will, forms, voices, companionship, and tenderness which have stirred the depths of his nature and modified the significance of his life, can recognize the divine possibilities of womanly presence, character, and love. The faith of such a one is no more disturbed by examples of the indifferent and frivolous, the perverted and unsexed, than his conviction of the beauty and worth of honor and genius is shaken by the rarity of gentlemen or the abuse of literature and art. The models he cherishes, however, testify that natural resources are far more efficacious than conventional expedients as means of womanly triumph; he feels that, like childhood and genius, like the flame and the star, it is not by interference, but through appreciation, that the charm thereof, in all its meaning and its beauty, comes home to his love and conscience.

Besides the assumption of uniformity, another unconscious injustice is done by the current estimate of women, — that of bringing them to a purely intellectual test. Constantly it is said the achievements of the sex are inferior to those of men, and therefore they require less scope and pabulum for mind, and acquire inferior social power. It is a fundamental error of our times and people to over-estimate intellect and its direct fruits. In the moral economy of the universe, in the best meaning and satisfactions of life and humanity, the genius of character transcends the force of intelligence; power to seize quickly the truth involved in experience, power through sympathy to arrive at the significance of men and things, power to assimilate the effluence, to recognize the tendency of other natures, to win and to warm them in childhood to fixed sentiments and auspicious habitudes, to cheer and charm them in maturity into peace or high endeavor, — power to soften what is rigid, dissipate what is morbid, enlist what is noble, elevate what is low, encourage what is distrustful, harmonize what is incongruous, solve what is perplexing, enliven what is stagnant, — this is a ministry and a mission essential to civilization, to enjoyment, and to triumph in social life and in lonely toil. As an element of human welfare it is as requisite as air to the

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world of nature, light to space, motion to health, hope to endeavor, love to the soul. In a philosophical survey of history, in an introspective mood, in the familiar routine and the extraordinary aims of existence, we know and feel this, and to it are to be ascribed, not only the dual lives of the sexes as a condition of humanity, but the voluntary relations of love, counsel, and friendship which not only the susceptible, but the sage, not only the ardent, but the wise, of illustrious men have sustained to chosen women: Longinus to Zenobia, Michael Angelo to Vittoria Colonna, Montaigne to Mademoiselle de Grignon, Abelard to Heloise, Dante to Beatrice, Petrarch to Laura, Alfieri to the Countess of Albany, Cowper to Lady Hesketh, Swift to Stella, Steele to Prue, Sterne to Eliza, and so on through the whole range of poets, philosophers, and heroes. The diversity in kind and degree of these relations is owing to the modifications of character and circumstances. The fact is normal and patent. The relation may be to the last degree unromantic, as in the case of Franklin and Miss Reed, or incongruous, as in that of Addison and the Countess of Warwick, or infatuated, as exemplified in Hazlitt's *Liber Amoris*, or egotistic, as in Comte's dedication of his theory to, or rather its derivation from, the woman he adored; — it may be an act of literary homage, like the tribute of Cousin to Madame de Longueville, or the enthusiasm lavished by Burke on Marie Antoinette; or it may be a vital bond, such as caused Spurzheim's pulse to intermit from the hour his wife expired. But whatever its character, it attests a mutual need, and suggests reciprocal benefits; it reveals the riches of woman's inheritance, the capabilities of her estate, — her actual power, her possible triumphs. Where, even, her harvest is only to glean after other reapers, like trustful Ruth, how boundless that harvest, when the lord thereof is her own!

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Art. II. — THE LIBERAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. *New Star Papers.* By Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Derby and Jackson.
2. *Memoirs of Joseph Badger.* By Rev. E. G. Holland.
3. *Theodore Parker's Experience as a Minister, with some Account of his Early Life and Education for the Ministry.* Boston: Rufus Leighton, Jr.
4. *The Modern History of Universalism.* By Thomas Whittemore. Boston: Published by the Author.
5. *The Suspense of Faith. An Address to the Alumni of the Divinity School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.* By Henry W. Bellows. New York: C. S. Francis & Co.

We propose to give a brief survey of the varied phases of that movement of the religious consciousness of America which passes under the general name of Liberal Christianity. Viewed in its positive aspects, it is an attempt to evolve out of the past, and from new acquisitions of knowledge, a vital Christianity, — one which shall find such an expression in creeds and churches as shall harmonize the advanced thought of the age with a working and living faith. On its practical side it aims to produce a type of character which shall blend the highest aspirations of humanity with the best attainments in morality, and to organize an ecclesiasticism suited to the altered condition of society in our time. What Democracy is doing for man in the State, Liberal Christianity is attempting to accomplish in the Church. This effort to attain a positive faith, which in creed, cultus, church organization, and practical life shall express the real religious conviction of the advanced minds of Christendom, for the sake of precision, we will denominate the Liberal Religious Movement in the United States. We call it a movement, because it is something broader than a sect, — in fact, includes many different modes of worship and ecclesiasticism, and embraces various shades of doctrine and opinion. The works, the titles of which are given above, afford an illustration of the wide range and varied phases of liberal religious thought. They are marked by dis-

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tinguishing features, yet tend to the same general result. Each touches a point in the outer circle, and has with the rest a common centre. To give a comprehensive survey of the whole, we must briefly treat each one separately and with distinctness.

First, and most remote by ecclesiastical association, is the author of "Life Thoughts" and "New Star Papers." These works are miscellaneous in their character. They contain the spontaneous utterances of the moment suggested in the course of pulpit discourse, papers dashed off for the columns of a weekly journal, and extracts from more carefully prepared sermons. As, however, they are now in print with the implied, if not expressed, sanction of the preacher of the Plymouth Church, they may be regarded as a fair indication of his vein of thought, his cast of mind and religious tendencies. Mr. Beecher is emphatically a man of the people. Let it be known in the most obscure village of the Free States that he will lecture or preach, and the whole town will flock to hear him. Wherever he speaks, he finds a crowd with open ears. The choice and treatment of his subjects show that his sympathies are more practical than scholarly, though he has not the prejudices against learning and philosophy which blinded and narrowed some of the most gifted among the earlier popular Methodist preachers. He thinks more than he reads. The world is his great teacher, and his illustrations, which are often remarkable for their pertinency, reveal his keen and close powers of observation, his deep and sagacious study of man. He has no patience with metaphysical reasoning, has no logical coherence in his theological belief, does not reach truth by the slow and patient process of intellectual investigation, but by a sort of prophetic glance and moral intuition. He has more genius than learning, and in the whole tone and structure of his mind is direct and practical. In the utterance of truth you are rarely in doubt as to his meaning, and even when there is a real or seeming contradiction, this is as true of his thought as his language. He has rare power of expression, and sends the truth home to the common mind with both clear and vigorous statements. Mr. Beecher is always found on the side of justice, pleading for the weak against the strong.

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His heart is too large and generous in its sympathies to be confined in the limits of a sect. In the great struggles of humanity he does not hesitate to join cordially with heretics, and has made as powerful pleas for toleration as the most liberal preacher in the land. He could not be a bigot if he would. Though a Trinitarian Congregationalist, and from conviction and traditional education ecclesiastically connected with the Orthodox Church, his orthodoxy hangs very loosely over his shoulders. To classify him is no easy task, for he is a cross between the "Evangelical" and "Liberal" Christian. At one time he falls into the most extravagant language when describing the Trinity, declaring that all there is of God is bound up in the name of Jesus Christ. "A dim and shadowy effluence rises from Christ, and that I am taught to call the Father. A yet more tenuous and invisible film of thought arises, and that is the Holy Spirit. But neither is to me aught tangible, restful, accessible." Then, again, he stigmatizes the very term Total Depravity, calls it an "interloper," says "it is not found in the Scriptures," — he does "not believe it is even found in the catechisms and confessions of faith of Protestant or Catholic Christendom." "It is an unscriptural, monstrous, and unredeemable lie." In justice to truth we should add, that, while rejecting this dogma in as strong and fierce language as can be found among Unitarians, he yet does believe "in the deep sinfulness of universal man."

But it would be a hopeless effort to attempt to give a coherent statement of Mr. Beecher's creed. He is not a systematic thinker, and makes bungling work in theology. The chief bent of his mind is to make a practical application of vital religion to individual, social, and political life. And in this he is working in the line of the Liberal forces. Probably there is not a man in the United States who is doing so much to "Americanize" religion among the Orthodox as Mr. Beecher. He reaches a large class of persons who would not otherwise be brought into direct contact with living and progressive ideas. His influence is immediate, and he is engaged in scattering the seed-thoughts of a truly living Gospel broadcast in the Church and world. The whole drift of his preaching and writing is in opposition to the fundamental idea of

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Calvinism, which is, that Christianity is a system of dogmas to be received as truth by the understanding, and that a rejection of "fundamental doctrines" of the Church creed is the deepest injury which can be inflicted on faith. Mr. Beecher, on the other hand, insists more on the love of man and God as the test of the true Christian. The worst infidel is he who is most faithless to the spirit of Christ; the grounds of piety rest on right feeling and acting, more than on correct thinking. Thus, in showing his auditors how to become Christians, he says: "Religion and religious doctrines are very different things. We do not ask you to accept a theory of religious doctrine; nor any system of philosophy. We ask you simply to begin a religious life, and to begin it now." So in an address to those who were just entering upon a course of Christian discipleship, he unfolds the principles on which the Plymouth Church is founded. "I wish it to be remembered that this church has had its whole life and development during a very critical period of American history. The Gospel of Christ, in every age, has a new work to perform, a new growth to develop, new applications to make to the ever-changing phases of society. For eleven years your church meetings have been open to the freest speech. We have gone through all discussions of the most perilous and exciting questions, and all men have had unrestrained liberty, and yet love has not been quenched. And we stand this day a living brotherhood." Whatever may be the theology of a church founded on these principles, it is in fact a church of Liberal Christians, and must produce a type of character, and ultimately a doctrinal belief, at war with the essential and vital principles of Calvinism, — with its legitimate, intellectual intolerance.

Next in order, for the convenience of arrangement, we will place the "Christian Connection." This originally was the movement of an unlettered class in favor of an unsectarian Christianity. It sprang up spontaneously about the same time in different parts of the country, and though animated by the same spirit, it grew in the sections where the movement began, from differing ecclesiastical traditions. This body holds nearly the same relation among Liberal Christians which the Methodists do in the "Evangelical Church." Its preachers adopt

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the popular method of revivals, and are largely under the influence of their emotions. Starting with the declaration, "The Bible our only creed," these uncultured but earnest men have gone forth in the new settlements as pioneers, and spread broadcast over the prairies of the West the principles of a free Gospel. The Memoirs of Badger present the sketch of one of the leading men of this denomination, and his active labors cover almost the entire period of its history. Springing from the yeomanry of our land, with more than an average native force of intellect, original powers of mind, and religious fervor, he contributed largely by his labors to the organization of this band of disciples. He spent the vigor of his life in a ministry which to a great degree was itinerant, baptizing a thousand converts, editing one of their earliest journals, aiding in the formation of churches and conferences, and moulding the character of this new outbreak of the Christian mind in the direction of ecclesiastical and religious freedom.

But we have now to do with the denomination which he moulded. In a brief period the "Christians" have organized an ecclesiasticism which, for all the practical purposes of a church, is one of the most effective to be found among Liberal Christians. The emotional element of religion is so strong and vivid as to act as a fusing power, and to weld them into a firmer ecclesiastical compactness than could be attained by mere force of intellectual agreement. Though not much more than half a century old, they have grown into a denomination of over one thousand preachers and churches, with newspapers and general conventions. The cardinal principles by which they are distinguished are the declaration of the Bible as their only creed, the right and duty of individual judgment in the study of the Scriptures, the experience of religion in the soul the test of its existence. So far as they have a definite theology, it embraces the doctrine of God in one person, and in this they approach to Unitarianism. In their Christology they are inclined to accept the most exalted views of the nature of Christ consistent with his Sonship and subordination to the Father, and tend more to Arianism or Sabellianism than to humanitarianism. Their great defect is the lack of scholarship and culture. They have had all the jeal-

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ousy of learning which follows ignorance, and until of late have depreciated the value of an educated ministry. This narrow prejudice — for it does not deserve the name of conviction — is gradually softening and yielding to wiser counsels. The establishment of Antioch College, the efforts of the leading men of this connection, their contact with Unitarians through the Theological School at Meadville, and the influence of such writers as Channing, Burnap, and Horace Mann, — all these combined cannot fail to hasten the work of intellectual emancipation and the spread of a wider culture. At present this phase of the Liberal movement is confined to the uneducated, yet in a comprehensive survey of the Liberal forces this body of Christians are by no means unimportant. They carry the germs of broad and generous principles to the common people, and scatter the seeds of an unsectarian Christianity into the workshop and the hamlet, where they cheer many a weary and lowly heart with the sweet peace and heavenly consolation of a genuine Christian faith.

Of a much more recent date, and far more radical in its character, is the origin of the "Progressive Friends." We have in a former number* given a brief sketch of the aims and spirit of this movement. The more recent reports of the Annual Meetings show that they are zealous in their advocacy of Christian freedom and progress. Their protests against error and sin are firm and steadfast. Their organization, which is very simple, enables them to spread the leading principles which distinguish them. They do not differ materially from the most radical phase of religion and reform, and for facility of classification we may include among them such noble Christian philanthropists as Lucretia Mott and Isaac Hopper. With a platform as broad as humanity, and comprehensive as truth, they aim to cherish freedom of thought and speech on every subject relating to man's welfare. The arrangements for meetings they adapt to the peculiar wants and tastes of the communities in which they are held. Besides their Annual Meeting they have local Associations which "should do more than hold weekly meetings. They should

* No. CXCVI., Fourth Series, No. LXXVI., July, 1856.

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regard it as a sacred duty to provide for the visitation and help of the poor in their respective neighborhoods, to lend their sympathy and encouragement to such as are borne down under heavy trials, and to afford prompt and efficient aid in every right effort for the promotion of Temperance, Peace, Antislavery, Education, the Equal Rights of Woman, &c. Such Associations, moreover, ought to regard it as their special function to cultivate and develop the religious sentiment among their members, and, so far as possible, in the community generally. For this purpose they would establish libraries, in which the works of eminent anti-sectarian writers upon moral, ethical, and religious subjects might become accessible to all classes, especially to the young."

The power of this body is more in its principles than its numbers. The movement will take up a class of persons who would otherwise be thrown out from all organization. Their history lies in the future. As a present force they will aid in giving impulse to the general movement of Liberal Christianity.

Akin in spirit to the "Progressive Friends" is the great American heresiarch. Religion as it has been preached at the Music Hall, and as now seen in the Experience of Theodore Parker as a Minister, is of the most radical kind. Mr. Parker's mind, by a recoil from supernaturalism, has run into the baldest extremes of naturalism. Endowed with pre-eminent intellectual powers, with unusual keenness of observation and a strong philosophic bent, he has given himself to the investigation of sacred themes with a boldness which runs into audacity, and a mental self-reliance which puts his own convictions against the universal faith of Christendom. In a recent number we have related the history of the volume named above, and will now speak of it in connection with Mr. Parker's general views and his relation to the Liberal movement in religion.

In this "Record of Experience," we have the fruits of his varied scholarship, philosophical generalizations, and religious belief. These are not brought out here with that fulness of illustration and copiousness of argument which we find in his more elaborate published writings. Still it is a summary of his thoughts and labors. What such a man has to say, a man

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who has given a life's study to the most sacred themes, cannot fail to be of interest and profit. Probably no writer with liberal religious tendencies, since the time of Dr. Channing, has exerted so wide an influence as Mr. Parker. His knowledge, if not always accurate, is certainly encyclopedic. His fidelity to the moral problems of the age, and especially his able and uncompromising advocacy of the antislavery cause, have placed him in a commanding position. This with many has atoned for his abandonment of the ecclesiastical faith of Christendom. He has secured for himself a large audience, and the ear of all thoughtful men. Whatever he writes is universally read, either to be condemned or approved. Never aiming to conciliate his hearer or reader, he is the object of hatred as bitter as the attachments of friends is deep and fervent. In his general views he represents the principle of pure rationalism, and in his writings we have an attempt to construct a religion on the basis of a purely rationalistic philosophy. His religious system may be said to turn on these three points: — "1st. The Instinctive Intuition of the Divine, the consciousness that there is a GOD. 2d. The Instinctive Intuition of the Just and Right, a consciousness that there is a Moral Law, independent of our will, which we ought to keep. 3d. The Instinctive Intuition of the Immortal, a consciousness that the essential element of man, the principle of Individuality, never dies." Developing his system from these germs, and making consciousness the test of religious truth, he finds no place for an external revelation. Thus carrying out his first principles with logical rigor, he denies the claims of all religious teachers to any special authority. Hence the Bible, like the Koran, is valuable only so far as it contains truth which commends itself to his own conscience and reason. These are the ultimate grounds of appeal. The favorite doctrines which he has evolved from these principles are the "Infinite Perfections of God, the adequacy of man for all functions, and Absolute or Natural Religion." What Strauss has attempted with the four Gospels, Mr. Parker has aimed to do with the faith of Christendom. Yet it would be untrue to say that he is a mere iconoclast. He claims to have a positive faith. Starting with certain fixed and clearly defined philosophic axioms or first truths, he aims by a strictly logical

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method to unfold his ideas of religion into certain distinctive doctrines. His positive stand-point is philosophical Theism. All beyond this in the belief of Christendom he denies. His system, in its religious bearings, has this main defect, — it is a philosophy, rather than a religion, resting on rationalism instead of faith. Hence its power lies more in the corrective influence it will exert on the creed of Christendom, than in its creative force. The great religions of the world, — those which have gained a permanent name in history, which, begotten in self-sacrifice, have stirred the soul with the loftiest heroism and devotion, and established a *cultus* and an *ecclesia*, have not been wrought out of the crucible of intellectual analyses, or the broad generalizations of philosophy. Great religions are the product of ages of faith. Rationalism has high and important uses. It explodes the accretions of error and superstition. It clears away the monstrous accumulations of credulity, and opens the darkened mind to the perception of new truth. But it never has originated a permanent, transforming, and creative religion. Those great movements of the human soul which give rise to marked eras of humanity and form epochs in human progress, receive their first and strongest impulses from a faith originating, not in the reason, but in sentiments and emotions.

But while Mr. Parker's system, regarded as the exposition of a religion, has an inherent weakness, it is valuable as a corrector of errors. We have said that his position is that of philosophic Theism. Thus far he has wrought well. He has exerted a wide-spread, corrective influence on the popular theology. He will not leave the religious mind of New England, and we may add of the land, where he found it. A more just and lofty idea of God has gained a lodgement in the religious consciousness; and many of the most noxious errors which had darkened the Church, and dwarfed and blighted the soul, are giving place to a Gospel of love and joy. There is an evident relaxing of the harsher features of Calvinism. This is so evident, that laments constantly reach our ears of the changes which are going on even among the faithful, and a new "Theological Review" has been established, with the avowed object of bringing back the lax orthodoxy of the clergy to the precision and definiteness of the old Puritan theology.

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But let us pass to other aspects of the Liberal Religious Movement. To understand their characteristics, we must recur to the times immediately preceding their origin. The last century was fruitful in changes of the religious life, and gave rise to distinct theological beliefs. The powerful mind of Jonathan Edwards had wrought out the famous work on the Will. While meditating the abstruse speculations of philosophy, he also engaged in a local controversy which involved principles of universal application, and witnessed a deep spiritual awakening in his parish at Northampton. Whitefield had entranced crowds by his fervid eloquence, and kindled an intense enthusiasm. By his thrilling appeals the "great revival" received a new momentum, until at last twenty thousand in Boston heard his farewell sermon with tears, and parted from him with prayers and benedictions. Such a state of religious zeal is not favorable to half-way views. Edwards's theology was steeped in the spirit of the "Institutes," and Whitefield's discourse was an eloquent gilding of the great Genevan's stern and logical system. Religion, thus run into the mould of Calvinism, became a threat and a terror. The vivid descriptions of the highly wrought Methodist, and the strong and lofty imagination of the author of the "Freedom of the Human Will," had daguerreotyped with fearful distinctness the future life of the impenitent, and sounded in the ears of the multitude the solemn warning of their impending doom. The wails of the damned in the curling flames of hell, as they shrieked in agony or writhed in hopeless endless misery, were so portrayed as to alarm the sensitive and frighten the timid. Groans, as of those in the last stages of despair, were heard in households mingling with the joyful songs of hallelujahs. For a season even the wicked paused. The sounds of revelry ceased. Delicate women and robust men sometimes fell prostrate from the physical exhaustion of their intense struggles. But this could not always last. When the tide of feeling had reached its height, it began to ebb. The storm of excitement spent its strength, and subsided into a calm. Then came a reaction, when the seeds of two movements began to germinate, until they subsequently grew into the ecclesiastical forms of Universalism and Unitarianism.

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In the order of time Universalism has the priority, and as a distinct ecclesiastical body may date its origin from the preaching of the Rev. John Murray, who arrived in this country in 1770. Before this there had been cases of individual dissent from the doctrine of eternal damnation. In Pennsylvania Dr. Benneville had in vision seen the mysteries of the future world, and heard the heavenly host shouting with one voice: "An eternal deliverance! An eternal restoration! An everlasting restitution of all things!" The Rev. Richard Clarke, admired alike in Charleston and London for his eloquent discourse, for fifty years taught in South Carolina his belief in the doctrine of Universal Restoration, while Jonathan Mayhew was propounding his heresies in Boston. But though the seeds of Universalism were thus sprouting in remote sections of the Colonies, it was not till after the preaching of Murray that it began to organize distinct religious societies.

In its historical development, Universalism in this country has assumed different phases. The fathers of the faith were unlike, both in their modes of reasoning and the conclusions to which they arrived. Murray, accepting the Calvinistic idea of the atonement, applied it to all men, instead of any special section of "elect." He indeed allowed that the natural consequence of sin would inevitably follow transgression, and also admitted that there might be suffering hereafter in consequence of blindness or unbelief. But these were only modifications of his general view that Christ suffered the penalty of all men. Winchester even retained in his mind the old conception of a material hell, maintained the fact of future punishment, but believed in the final happiness of all. Thus far the movement was not a clear and distinct protest against Calvinism, but only a larger application of some of its first principles. It was the elder Ballou who first clearly assailed the fundamental doctrines of the Institutes. Renouncing the Calvinistic idea of God as a Being of force, and asserting that in essence He is love, he aimed to prove from the Bible and the general benevolence of the Divine Being the doctrine of universal salvation. With mental vigor, clearness of statement, and logical force, he gave himself to the task, and was one of the first, if not the very first, of our preachers who

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openly advocated the strict Unity of God. No man gave such tone and direction to the Universalism of the past generation to such an extent as Hosea Ballou. Since his death there has been an evident reaction from his opinions. At present it is difficult to define with precision the real aspect of thought, because it is in a transition state in respect to the doctrine of future punishment. The general drift of opinion, as indicated by many of the leading men, is the inseparable connection between sin and punishment; and as the former, if unrepented of, may follow the soul, so will its train of consequences. The logical result of this is future, as well as present retribution. Those who cling to the doctrine of the elder Ballou reject this. The dogmatic unity of the Universalist body is in the idea that punishment in its nature is corrective, and, like pain and suffering, is only disciplinary. This central thought underlies the present diversities of opinion, out of which, with their increasing mental freedom, force, and activity, they will yet evolve a more consistent, philosophic, and Scriptural theology.

Universalism, as developed in this country, is not in essence a rationalistic movement. All its early protests are grounded on the Bible. Thus it began as "Calvinism Improved; or the Gospel illustrated as a system of real grace, issuing in the salvation of all men." Then it treated of "the Restoration of all men proved by Scripture, reason, and common sense," until it assumed a more comprehensive form, "in which the finite nature of sin is argued, its cause and consequences as such, the necessity and nature of atonement, and its glorious consequences, in the Final Reconciliation of all men to holiness and happiness." Originating among men more distinguished for acuteness and vigor of mind than for wide culture or philosophic breadth, "Universalism" has not been so much exposed to the excesses of rationalism as "Unitarianism." Having its basis on a single doctrine instead of general principles, it has concentration and unity as a denomination. The preachers of this gospel of love have gone forth as polemics, with Bible in hand, and with a long array of proof-texts argued with zeal and efficiency. In method they have been aggressive, and have gained in numbers and strength by the persevering constancy with which they have advocated their peculiar tenets.

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This has sometimes run into extremes, and in the earlier period of their history we discern the excesses of negation. We do not say this by way of reproach. It was the natural, may we not say inevitable, reaction from the popular representations of eternal punishment. Now, however, there is an evident change, and the Universalist leaders are busy in the more profitable and difficult task of organizing their churches on the positive principles of their creed, and moulding a type of Christian life which shall be marked with the peculiar features of their faith. Among the younger men the influence of such writers as Dr. Channing and James Martineau is clearly discernible. By logical necessity, doctrinal affinities, church organization, and the general drift of thought, they must gravitate towards the Unitarians, or, to speak more accurately, they will be drawn to each other. Those sectarian jealousies, social antipathies, and the difference of tastes, which on both sides have as yet proved a barrier to cordial union, will gradually pass away, and though each may retain its separate organization and distinctive name, still in their general spirit and purpose they will approach to greater unity. They are but different forms of the same religious movement, and in proportion as Unitarianism also enlarges its sympathies, and outgrows the mere accidents of its organization and history in New England, will the two lines of thought and church organization be twisted into one. But this cannot be prematurely accomplished. It is the work of time. Great and widespread movements are of slow growth, and change in features in the varied stages of their history. Universalism is the vindicator of the character of God. It asserts the transcendent truth, that from infinite benevolence all things are created, and that happiness is the final end of man, — that God never will doom a single child to remediless and eternal woe, but has both the power and will so to create and direct the world that virtue and happiness will ultimately triumph over sin and misery. This it predicates from the axiom, God is love.

In a series of papers this journal has already summed up the results of the Unitarian Controversy. These have also appeared in another form, with valuable additions. As far as Dr. Ellis goes, he exhausts his subject. He proposed, how-

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ever, to treat chiefly of the theological results, and confined himself to the consideration of what has been known here as "Unitarianism" as a distinct movement. Our aim is to consider it in relation to the more general uprising of the religious consciousness for a more liberal Christianity. Unitarianism may be considered as the seeking, by fundamental principles of religious freedom and progress, an enlargement of mind and heart in the direction of religious thought and feeling, or it may be regarded as an attempt to reform theology. Whether consciously or unconsciously, it certainly is based on both these endeavors, and by keeping this distinction in mind we shall avoid much prevalent confusion of thought, and understand more correctly its nature and aims. It belongs more to our present purpose to speak of the fundamental principles of free inquiry which it declared, and trace its stages in its church history. Perhaps the time has not yet come to treat historically these underlying principles. As yet, such questions as the nature and action of free inquiry, how far there shall be limitations to it, what application shall be made of it in dealing with religion and especially with Christianity as a revealed religion, how far it shall be encroached upon in organizing a church, — these, and other kindred questions which are now presenting themselves to Unitarians, have not as yet been so answered that the replies can be stated as general, clear, and definite convictions.

Many of the pioneers in this movement asserted in broad and unqualified terms the right and duty of free inquiry. Dr. Channing, in his discourse at the dedication of Divinity Hall, says: —

"To free inquiry, then, we dedicate these walls. We invite into them the ingenuous young man, who prizes liberty of mind more than aught within the gift of sects or of the world. Let Heaven's free air circulate, and Heaven's unobstructed light shine here, and let those who shall be sent hence go forth, not to echo with servility a creed imposed on their weakness, but to utter, in their own manly tones, what their own free investigations urge them to preach, as the truth of God."

This strong and unqualified plea for free inquiry was made when the mind in every sect was bound to the thraldom of

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creeds. But thirty years have passed away, and now other conditions of thought have arisen, and a new generation has come upon the stage. In the altered condition of things, thought has rushed to extremes. The most bald Theism, as founded on the conclusions of philosophy and the testimony of consciousness, is preached everywhere. A recoil inevitably follows. Are there not limitations to free thought? At least is there not some common point within Christianity, something which makes it a distinctive faith? Is liberty unbridled license? Has not Christ peculiar claims and authority, and a more authentic seal from heaven? Shall we yield up the whole past, cut loose from the faith of Christendom, and deny the special claims of Christianity to a "special, supernatural revelation?" These questions are in the minds of the thoughtful and more conservative. Whither are we tending? they exclaim. Dr. Bellows, with logical desperation, ultimates the tendencies of Protestantism, and allows "even the malice of enemies to flash light upon their direction," so that

"we may see that the sufficiency of the Scriptures turns out to be the self-sufficiency of man, and the right of private judgment an absolute independence of Bible or Church. No creed but the Scriptures, practically abolishes all Scriptures but those in the human heart; nothing between a man's conscience and his God, vacates the Church; and with the Church, the Holy Ghost, whose function is usurped by private reason, the Church lapses into what are called Religious Institutions, these into Congregationalism, and Congregationalism into Individualism,—and the logical end is the abandonment of the Church as an independent institution, the denial of Christianity as a supernatural revelation, and the extinction of worship as a separate interest. There is no pretence that Protestantism, as a body, has reached this, or intends this, or would not honestly and earnestly repudiate it; but that its most logical product is at this point, it is not easy to deny. Nay, that these are the *tendencies* of Protestantism is very apparent."

From this we shall see that Unitarianism has not yet reached a practical solution of some of its fundamental principles. Ought there not to be something assumed in Christianity which makes it a distinctive and authoritative faith? If we would have a church, be it ever so broad, must it not have a creed? These are the questions now under discussion. There

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is not a number of this journal which does not make some attempt for their solution. Our present object is to assist in that attempt, by indicating the present posture of the debate. We do not, of course, enter into it in this place. We have only here to say that, in the Unitarian body, the Christian religion is almost everywhere held and proclaimed as a distinct, peculiar, authoritative, "supernatural" revelation from God. If we were not speaking of a "connection" singular *touchy* (as Beaumont and Fletcher would say), when human authority is alluded to, we should venture the expression, that such is the opinion and proclamation of the highest Unitarian *authorities*.

Dr. Ellis, in his summing up of the results of the Unitarian Controversy, represents the point of departure of Unitarianism from Orthodoxy, but does not define its actual theological status. He could not do this because it has no dogmatic unity, and includes within its domain a wide and varied range of opinion, from the most reverential Sabellianism to the most philosophic Theism. It is impossible to state too broadly the distance or the difference between the two opposite poles of the circle of thought with which the Unitarians are encircled. The power of Unitarianism as a sect is not very great. Its annual register of churches and ministers does not name more than three hundred of either. Its increase of societies is neither rapid nor large, and it has failed, as yet, to organize to any great extent for denominational purposes. Suffering from the disintegrating influences of an active and free intellect and an intense individuality, it is difficult to combine its separate parts into a compact and working body. But if weak as a sect, it is powerful as a movement. Here its individualism and intellectual activity have free play. Enrolling among its members many of the most gifted scholars, poets, historians, and philosophers, and taking up a large proportion of the varied professions, it has given a marked tone to literature, and spread its influence far beyond its own narrow borders. Its positive results will be found in the inculcation of the two great fundamental truths, — the brotherhood of Man, the Fatherhood of God. In its theology it has eliminated the Divine Paternity from

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the accretions of semi-Jewish and semi-Christian conceptions. The Calvinist's God is but little more than the Jewish Jehovah. The Unitarian's is that of Christ, viz. the Universal Father. So it gives emphasis and sacredness to all human efforts and reforms, by proclaiming the worth of man as the image of God. It was for man that Christ agonized and died, and hence man is too noble to be enslaved. What was worthy the efforts of the transcendent love of Calvary ought not to be kept in ignorance, degraded by vice, or manacled in chains. In the writings of Dr. Channing there lay the germs of every moral and humane movement which is now bravely struggling for success. The latter are the necessary result of the former. A just estimate of human nature is the highest inspiration for progress.

Unitarianism had its first organization, in some parts of New England, among the more cultivated and wealthy; it was characterized by decided intellectual tendencies, and has all the deficiencies which might have been expected from such a history. In its utterance it is often timid and apologetic, and dainty; and without a quick sympathy with the masses of men. As a body, it has not identified itself in any of the great popular movements, and would gain power if it had more of that *abandon* which forgets self and flings away self-consciousness in the intense zeal to do a good work. It certainly has gained steadily in religious depth and fervor, and feels more and more that a religious movement to succeed must not only convince the understanding, but rouse, stir, and thrill the heart to deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice. One of its best features is its honesty. It never spares itself. The severest strictures ever made on it have come from its own friends. Where this honesty degenerates into a morbid introspection, it becomes as mean and as fatal as the attitude of the wretched Indian ascetic, who bends down his head away from sun and earth and heaven, under the pretence of reflection, in the vain wish to study the law of his own interior system. We have seen this phenomenon sometimes at Unitarian Conventions. But when honesty looks for improved effort, we get a sign of vitality and the means of self-correction. It is evident that this

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sign may be relied on in the Unitarian body. It is striving to remedy its deficiencies. Although it has been reported as dying ever since its birth, it is not yet dead. Some minds, taken up by a recoil from extreme rationalism, will be absorbed into the popular faith. So, too, it may modify its theology, and, as Mr. Martineau does, deprecate a sectarian organization. Still, as a movement it will go on, and when it gets more courage, is animated by a more exclusive faith in the necessity for the world of the spread of its own ideas,—when it throws itself with a holier zeal into the popular heart,—it will become one of the most efficient forces of Liberal Christianity.

Outside of these separate ecclesiastical bodies there are other forces, which, to say the least, are making a fierce assault on the popular faith. The Spiritualists, who number themselves by millions, whatever their extravagances, are unloosing the minds of millions from its creeds. So, too, the agitations of reform are busy in the work of disintegration. On the platform of the lecture-room the progressive men are welcome, and their eloquent utterances in behalf of freedom and humanity are responded to with hearty applause. Much of the freshest literature is animated with nobler hopes and aspirations for man, and the general spirit of the best tendencies drifts in the direction of human progress.

Here, then, we have grouped together some of the most prominent forces of Liberal Christianity in America. Each one has peculiarities of its own, unlike traditions, and varied forms of ecclesiastical organization. Though describing every orbit of theological belief, from the baldest Theism to the boldest Trinitarianism, these as a whole show certain general features which mark them as a distinct type of religion. They are varied species of the same genus. Now to say that a movement so widespread, one which holds in its hands so much rich truth and lofty aspiration, which comprises men of an extensive range of learning, philosophic insight, mental vigor, moral earnestness, and religious fervor, and in addition having an organization of thousands of churches, with newspapers, periodicals, eloquent preachers, and popular lecturers, all moving in sympathy with much of our best literature, highest moral instincts, and most

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elevated political ideas, — to say that such a movement with all these forces has no vitality, is either the prejudice of bigotry or the folly of ignorance. Liberal Christianity cannot fail to influence the American Church, and contribute an important part in moulding its religion. Doubtless it contains much that is crude. Doubtless it suffers from many defects. It is no stranger to the most audacious doubts, and in its distinctive moods lays violent hands on sacred beliefs and important truth. Sometimes it forgets its own mother, and cuts loose from the past. But with all this it has positive aspects. It pleads for the emancipation of the mind, and a nobler form of humanity. It is the cry of the religious nature for a deeper and holier faith. It is the struggle of the strong man who would bravely encounter and overcome the questioning intellect. It is the earnest prayer for direct communion with God, and a more rational and living piety. Feeling the force of a new inspiration, it aims to go forth to bring about a more radical reformation, and produce a type of civilization which shall be more in harmony with the spirit and teachings of Christ. Liberal Christianity, under the inspiration of its highest truth, urges its ministers to preach a living Gospel to living men, about the questions of to-day.

Art. III. — THE BOOK OF JOB.

Le Livre de Job, traduit de l'Hébreu par Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. *Étude sur l'Âge et le Caractère du Poëme.* Paris: Michel Levy. 1859. 8vo. pp. 312.

We find in a recent number of the Strasburg *Revue de Théologie* a thorough criticism, which so exactly expresses our own view of M. Renan's remarkable treatise on the Book of Job, that we venture to substitute a translation for the original review of that work which we had intended. The article may be useful, too, as a specimen of the vigor with which theological and critical questions are handled by the writers of the liberal school in France.

"Criticism has raised upon the book of Job a crowd of prob-

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lems, without being able up to the present time to give of most of them any satisfactory solution. The writers agree neither upon the author, nor upon his time, nor upon his country. The species of literature to which the book belongs is still discussed. It is doubted whether the work is original, or only a Hebrew translation of some song of the Desert. Even where it is allowed to be an essay of 'theodicy,' they come to no clear understanding of the idea on which the theory is founded. To these general difficulties are added others which belong to details. Are not the prologue and the epilogue later additions? Is not the fragment from xxvii. 1 to xxviii. 28 an interpolation? Have not the descriptions of Behemoth and of Leviathan, xl. 15 to xli. 25, been added by a subsequent writer? Finally, is the discourse of Elihu, chap. xxxiii. to xxxvii., by the same hand as the rest of the poem?

"All these questions are examined by M. Renan in the *Étude* which he has prefixed to the translation of this book. Some of them, especially those which relate to the authenticity of the disputed portions, seem to us to be treated in a masterly manner; and if we are not as well satisfied with his discussion of most of the others, it is perhaps because they defy the attempts of the ablest criticism. Of the difficulties which we have mentioned, there is one at which, perhaps, the reader will be surprised; we mean the question of the *originality* of the book of Job. This question, however, yields the most readily to discussion. To suppose that this poem is a Hebrew translation of an Arabic or an Aramæan work, is to assign to antiquity literary habits which did not belong to it. No doubt the Jews were accustomed to translate at an early period. It is even probable that they were the first people who had the idea of transferring a work from one tongue to another. But these undertakings, which were suggested by the necessity of bringing the Law home to the masses who had forgotten the national language, had never any design but to render the Hebrew books into the vulgar dialects. In all the history of the children of Israel we find no trace of foreign works translated into Hebrew, and Jewish exclusiveness makes translations of this kind entirely improbable.

"This problem would never have been started, but for the

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truly astonishing circumstance that the book of Job bears no Hebrew character. There is no allusion, indeed, either directly or indirectly, to any of the grand facts of Hebrew tradition, neither to the Patriarchs, nor Moses, nor the Law, nor the Prophets. Everything here is conceived and presented from a general point of view, peculiar, it is true, to the Semitic race, but in nothing recalling the special traits which in the heart of this race belong especially to the family of Jacob. Even the scene is not laid in Judæa; it is in the Desert, a region which the children of Israel had not inhabited since the time of the Patriarchs, and it supposes a patriarchal life unknown to the Hebrews for centuries.

"Here is a real difficulty. It would vanish, if we could prove that the book of Job was translated from the Aramæan. But, as we have seen, that hypothesis has no probability. Shall we then suppose that the author of this poem, in the wish to give to his reader a specimen of Desert science, or perhaps simply to provoke curiosity, has designedly invented a patriarchal poem? This supposition also transfers our basis to a remote antiquity. It is impossible, as M. Renan has remarked, to admit that a Hebrew writer could have the literary refinement to lend to his personages only the thoughts and the language compatible with the epoch and country in which he placed them. Antiquity had not the idea of what we call 'local color;' and there is not in all this work a passage, not a single word, which exhibits or betrays the artificial system which, on this hypothesis, must have ruled in its composition.

"Must we then admit that the author really lived in the midst of the scenes which he describes, in the Desert, under the tent, surrounded by his numerous servants and his more numerous flocks? On the other hand, we know that, since the time of Moses, the Hebrews were strangers to the patriarchal life; and that what is most certainly Mosaic in Hebrew legislation has for its end (an end fully attained), to make the children of Israel an agricultural people. 'But here is no difficulty,' say some critics, whose opinion formerly had weight. 'The poem of Job is the oldest work of Hebrew literature; it antedates in its composition the age of Moses, and this remote age of its composition explains both its general tone and its absolute silence upon the Hebrew traditions.'

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"With this hypothesis, however, at once arise a multitude of difficulties more serious than those which it dispels. In this case, the diction of Job ought to have, as M. Renan observes, something archaic and primitive; while, on the contrary, this diction is singularly artificial and labored. This observation may be well founded; yet it could not be regarded as decisive, if it were not confirmed by other considerations. A more convincing proof of the comparatively modern age of the book of Job is its contents. The question which is handled in it would never have disturbed the mind of man in the dawn of a civilization. Men do not begin by doubting what they will many centuries after believe. Doubt is only awakened after long experience has shown that a faith is not seated on a firm basis. For ages it was in Israel an established conviction, that man receives upon this earth the reward of his deeds, that virtue is blessed by prosperity, and vice punished by disaster. Now, the book of Job is the refutation of doubts raised upon this article of faith. It supposes, consequently, a declining civilization. But if the author of this poem is not an ante-Mosaic patriarch, nothing prevents us from believing, if we may trust M. Renan, that he was a Jew, of an age a little later than that of Solomon, actually leading a patriarchal life among the Beni-Kedem, after having travelled in Egypt and in Arabia, and that he here proposes to give his brethren of the same faith an echo of the ancient wisdom of Theman. M. Renan's views on this theory are seductive, and not, we must own, without plausibility.

"'The book of Job, conceived outside of those ideas which we call Mosaic, is not,' he remarks, 'a unique and isolated phenomenon in Hebrew literature. It belongs to all that literature of moral philosophy, of which the book of Proverbs, many of the Psalms, and even the Ecclesiastes, are striking monuments. This literature grouped around Solomon is not specially Jewish; it is, like the book which here concerns us, purely Semitic. Solomon, who cultivated it with success, was in intimate relations with the countries bordering upon Palestine, to such a degree that the integrity of his work in the development of the Hebrew mind was much impaired. All his history shows him to us as a *parabolist* much more interested in the profane wisdom of the Gentiles than in the pure worship of Jehovah. The neighboring tribes to Palestine, especially the Beni-Kedem or Orientals, among whom is laid the

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scene of the book of Job, shared the same philosophy. Especially was the Idumæan tribe of Theman, to which the chief of Job's adversaries belongs, celebrated for its wise men. It is, then, certain that there was there a peculiar style of intellectual culture, a *school*, if we may call it so, of which the people Israel has alone transmitted to us the memory, but which did not belong to Israel exclusively. It is even probable that among the monuments of Hebrew wisdom have been preserved to us fragments of the wisdom of the adjoining tribes. This King Lemuel, under the name of whom the compiler of the book of Proverbs has handed down to us the commencement of a *gnomic* poem, has been regarded by many critics as an Arabian king; and in fact, if his name is not symbolic or feigned, we must seek it elsewhere than in the series of the kings of Israel. The poem of Agur, which offers some marked points of resemblance, both in style and manner, with the preceding, has perhaps an analogous origin.'

"This passage, which we have preferred to quote at length, gives a very clear notion of the theory of M. Renan upon the origin of the book of Job, — an ingenious theory, which, if fairly established, would remove most of the difficulties which are raised by this ancient poem. It opens, moreover, a new view of a considerable part of Hebrew literature, and explains in fact in a satisfactory way much that is but slightly Hebraic in some of the books of the Old Testament. But, though we may allow that the *gnomic* books of the Hebrews bear rather the imprint of the general genius of the Semitic race than the special mark of the Israelite spirit, what shall we infer from this in regard to the book of Job? Can we rank it in this class of writings? Possibly, if we only consider the fact that it has no connection with Hebrew traditions; but certainly not, if we compare its tone with the dominant tone in the gnomic books. While these are in general inspired mostly by a common and in some sense egotistic morality, in the book of Job we find eminently an elevated sentiment and an enlargement of view which are in marked contrast with their spirit. How far from this cry of conscience protesting against an order of things of which the secret eludes its scrutiny, yet which at first view revolts its moral sense, is that mass of remarks, judicious certainly, but withal cold, which make up the book of Proverbs, and that frivolous despair which proclaims, from the mouth of the Ecclesiast, that the study of the science and

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the wisdom of men, not less than the sight of their folly, is only a vain torment of the soul.

"We cannot, however, refuse to see a real connection between the Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes, and the book of Job. The first admits, without discussion, the Hebrew principle that the fear of God prolongs the days of men, while the days of the wicked are shortened; and this conviction dictates to its authors the counsels which they give to men. This confidence is less firm in the author of the Ecclesiastes. He has noticed that the righteous man is often afflicted by the woes which the wicked would deserve, and that the wicked enjoys a prosperity which ought to be the fortune only of the righteous. In this he would fain believe there is only apparent disorder. He is convinced that, as a general rule, happiness is reserved for those who fear God, and that the wicked will be wretched and his days pass as a shadow, since he has not the fear of the Eternal One. But this conviction stays in his mind in the sphere of religious conventional ideas. In reality, according to his advice, the most certain thing for man is to make use of life while he has it, and enjoy its good cheer. The poem of Job is a protest against this selfish scepticism. Its starting-point is the same as that of Ecclesiastes. Job is this very righteous man who suffers the calamity which ought only to fall upon the wicked. But, instead of deducing from this disorder in the distribution of good and bad that consequence which the Ecclesiast draws, the author of the book of Job reaffirms more clearly the old Mosaic doctrine, and reaffirms it after passing along the same series of ideas which had given rise to the scepticism of the book attributed to Solomon. Man may not discover what God does under the sun, says the Ecclesiast; whatever pains he takes in seeking, he never finds this. The wise man endeavors this vainly; he can find no end to his seeking. The same idea recurs incessantly, as well in speeches of Job as in those of his friends. Man may not fathom the great works which God has done, nor count his marvels. Only the slight rumor of these has come to men. Wisdom, where shall it be found? Where is the place of understanding? We find it not in the land of the living. But while the Ecclesiast concludes from this ignorance of the

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ways of the Eternal that men have only to enjoy the present hour, without vexing the soul with useless cares, Job cries, "Who shall dare, without knowledge, to criticise Providence? Yes, I have spoken of what I did not understand, of wonders which were beyond my knowledge; and he ends by retracting, recognizing God's justice, and doing penance in dust and ashes.

"Was the author of the book of Job acquainted with Ecclesiastes? It were hardly safe to assert this. Yet it is beyond all doubt that he meets distinctly the sentiments which inspired the Ecclesiast, sentiments of which he was certainly not the only organ, and which had made wide ravages in Israel. A faithful Israelite, indignant at such blasphemies, felt called upon to take in hand the cause of the Almighty. "Who is this man," cries he, alluding to these impious doctrines, "who thus blackens Providence by his senseless discourse?" Such was certainly the origin of the poem of Job. Two inferences we may draw from the foregoing argument: first, that this book has really for its author an Israelite living among his brethren of the faith, seeing the errors which threaten ancient verities, and hastening to condemn them; second, that it is of a date later than Ecclesiastes, and belonging to the age subsequent to the restoration of Jerusalem, after the return from the captivity in Babylon.

"What need is there of supposing as the author of this poem a Jew living in Idumæa? What could he have done there? And how could his work have been circulated among the inhabitants of Judæa? Will it be objected, that the tone of the poem indicates a man accustomed to patriarchal life? But it is not improbable that, in the first years of the Jewish Restoration, an Israelite may have passed some time in the midst of those wandering tribes which peopled the Desert. Perhaps the author of this poem belonged to a family which, after the ruin of Jerusalem, had sought a refuge in the plains of Arabia. Moreover, it was only after the return from the captivity that a Jew could have heard of the mines worked in the mountains of Arabia, and the monstrous animals inhabiting the river Nile. And still further, we know that at this epoch the Israelites began to present religious truth in poetic fiction,—

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a species of literature unknown in the ages preceding the Babylonish captivity.

"Nor is this all. The poem of Job seems to bear in itself the date of its composition. The idea which pervades it from beginning to end, the idea that man cannot be just before God, goes very far beyond the circle of the ancient Hebraistic opinions. It supposes reflections upon the moral nature of man, which belong only to the epoch of *Judaism* proper. Jesus, the son of Sirach, who evidently imitates in many passages the book of Job, is, to us, a proof of this. He, too, mourns over the moral weakness of man. It is this doctrine which burdens the parabolic literature posterior to the captivity, and which is unknown to the earlier epochs.

"We cannot, then, assign this poem, with M. Renan, to the eighth century before the Christian era. Nothing in it, neither language nor ideas, carries it back to so remote an age. Let us not be told, that no work posterior to the captivity could be without some trace of Persian influence. Is the wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, marked by any Magian doctrine? Yet Jesus, son of Sirach, lived subsequently to Simon the Just, that is to say, three centuries before the Christian era. This Persian influence is the source of continual misapprehension. Men generally imagine that its effect was felt at once after the return from the captivity; but this was not so. It is only after several centuries that we see unquestionable marks of this. The absence of Magian ideas in the book of Job does not prove that its composition goes back to the eighth century before Christ, or that it cannot be of the fifth, or even of the fourth.

"We do not, indeed, in this poem, find that spirit of legal formalism which essentially characterizes the *Jewish* epoch. But this narrow formalism does not date precisely from the return from the Babylonish captivity. It did not exist in that period of nearly a century which came between Zorobabel and Ezra and Nehemiah. That age would well agree with the composition of the book of Job. At that time the Law seemed entirely unknown. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah bring back faith in it. This will in part explain the silence of the author of this poem upon the Hebraic traditions. Per-

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haps it was then that the pious Israelites, who had come up from Babylonia to Jerusalem with a firm confidence in the Divine aid, began to waver in their assurance, to doubt of the ancient creed, that the favors of God are exclusively reserved for his faithful worshippers, and that punishment will always reach the wicked, — comparing their prolonged misery with the prosperity of the enemies of the Almighty. The growing colony might be infested, in its discouragements, by these lax maxims, of which the Ecclesiast remains for us a too faithful echo. Instead of relations of business and friendship, they contracted family alliances with the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Amorites. Sabbaths and feasts became fair and market days. The love of luxury gave birth to the most shameless usury; a part of the population was plunged in the most frightful misery. Thus at once were shaken in Israel, general well-being, public safety, morality, and religion.

"What an opportunity for a faithful Israelite to take in hand the cause of Providence! Suppose that this man belonged to a family which, to save itself from deportation, after the ruin of Jerusalem, had retired to the deserts of Arabia, and that he had himself returned to the Holy City when he learned that a colony of his brethren had just arrived, with authority from their conqueror to build up the walls; and at once all the problems which this book of Job raises will have their solution.

"There is no reason, however, why its composition should not be assigned to even a later date. Formalism, the result of the combined efforts of Ezra and Nehemiah, did not rule in all Israel immediately after them. Its advances, though sure, were slow. It does not even in the book of Jesus, son of Sirach, reach the development which it takes under the Asmoneans, and still less that which we see in it at the birth of Christianity. The extreme limit is given by the book of *Wisdom*, the author of which evidently was acquainted with the poem of Job. The allusions and extracts which the son of Sirach makes are the first positive and undeniable trace of its existence. That there were at the time of Ezekiel (xiv. 14) legends about Job, proves nothing concerning the composition of the poem to which his name was given. There were also

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legends of Daniel; yet the prophecies which bear his name were not written till long after. A more important argument against the position we have maintained is drawn from an apparent imitation of Job in a passage of Jeremiah (xx. 14 *seq.*; comp. Job iii. 3 *seq.*, x. 18, 19). But which is the imitator, Jeremy or the author of the poem of Job? M. Renan will have it that it is Jeremy, and in proof cites the superior clearness and vigor of the passage in Job. To this argument we have two replies. In the first place, Is it absolutely necessary that a copy should always be inferior to the model? And in the second place, Are we competent judges in a matter of this kind? Can taste, in the last resort, decide upon questions complex as those which belong to races and civilizations so different from ours, and ancient tongues, always imperfectly understood? When J. C. Scaliger, who was master of the Latin language in quite another fashion from our knowledge of the Hebrew idiom, could allow himself to be mystified by M. A. Muret, who made him receive and admire, as genuine antique fragments, two verses of his (Muret's) making, may not modern Hebrew scholars be deceived by some able contemporary of Ezra or Simon the Just, who could apply his poetic genius and his large knowledge of the literature of his ancestors in the composition of a didactic poem on a theological question discussed in his time?

"If we cannot share M. Renan's opinion concerning the age and the authorship of the book of Job, we admire no less heartily the translation which he has just published. To the French reader for the first time, this gives a satisfactory idea of the beauties of the original text. It was not certainly an easy task to translate a Hebrew work, while preserving its proper character, without torturing the French tongue into foreign forms and idioms. But in this work the problem of an accurate and a good translation seems to us resolved. M. Renan has rejected both that barbarous method which, under pretence of preserving the color of the original, limits itself to substituting a corresponding French word for each word of the original text, leaving to the reader the trouble of finding a meaning, if he can; and the equally erroneous method which, under pretence of giving an ancient author a modern

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dress, gives, instead of a translation, a paraphrase more or less felicitous, — one of those pleasant *infidèles*, as formerly they called the pretended versions of Ablancourt. He has preferred to be exact, while respecting the laws and the genius of the French language, and in this he has succeeded. If this article were not already too long, we would gladly annex a comparison of some verses of the book of Job in M. Renan's translation and in some other French translations. This comparison would show, much better than any discussion, the superiority of the first over the others. But this the reader can easily do, and we leave it to him."

ART. IV. — ROBERT BURTON.

The Anatomy of Melancholy, what it is, with all the Kinds, Causes, Symptoms, Prognostics, and several Cures of it. In Three Partitions. With their several Sections, Members, and Subsections, Philosophically, Medically, Historically opened and cut up. By DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR. With a Satirical Preface conducing to the following Discourse. A New Edition. Corrected and enriched by Translations of the numerous classical Extracts. By DEMOCRITUS MINOR. Boston: William Veazie. 1859. 3 vols. Small 8vo. pp. 500, 467, 514.

BURTON'S "Anatomy of Melancholy" has been variously estimated by critics and men of letters. On the one hand, Dr. Johnson told a friend that it was "the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise;" and, on the other hand, Mr. Hallam "did not find much pleasure in glancing over it." Between these two extremes of opinion there is certainly a wide range; but it is not difficult to ascertain the grounds on which each rests. Burton had a marvellous familiarity with classical literature; he possessed a keen wit, great shrewdness, and much good sense; and with a lavish hand he poured all the treasures of his learning, his wit, and his wisdom into the single work to which he gave his life. It is not surprising, therefore, that

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Johnson should have been impressed with the amazing erudition and the solid sense of a writer whose tastes were in many respects like his own. At the same time, it must be conceded that Burton did not wear his learning gracefully, that it impeded rather than helped the progress of his argument, and that it often becomes wearisome to the reader. No man of cold, critical understanding, like Mr. Hallam, can fail to notice that the author "is clogged by excess of reading, like others of his age," and that he was a compiler from other men's books, rather than an original thinker.

At the time of its first publication, and for half a century afterward, his book enjoyed a high degree of popularity; and before the close of the seventeenth century it was reprinted seven times. But with the wits of Queen Anne's time, and with the generation who were educated in that school, it found little favor; and, in consequence of the change in literary taste which then took place, it soon passed out of circulation. From this oblivion Johnson's loud and repeated commendation rescued it; and since the commencement of this century it has been reprinted nine or ten times. The beautiful edition named above is one among many proofs of this revival of interest in a work once almost universally read, and then almost entirely forgotten. In convenience of form and elegance of typography it is all that the most fastidious taste can desire; and it is not probable that a more elegant edition will ever be given to the public.

Of Robert Burton's life and character we know little, except what Anthony Wood records, and what we may gather from his own book. There we occasionally find slight revelations of personal peculiarities of value to the biographer. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family of Leicestershire, England, and was born at Lindley in that county on the 8th of February, 1576, the same year with Fletcher the dramatist. His elder brother, William Burton, was a lawyer and an antiquary, and is known as the author of "A Description of Leicestershire," which was formerly held in high repute. Robert was sent at an early age to the grammar schools at Sutton Coldfield and at Nuneaton, where he appears to have been well grounded in the rudiments of a liberal

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education. At the age of seventeen he was entered of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford; and six years later he was elected a student of Christ-Church College, at that time "the most flourishing college of Europe." His tutor was Dr. Bancroft, afterward Bishop of Oxford, under whose tuition he was placed, as Wood informs us, merely as a matter of form. At college he was distinguished by his knowledge of mathematics and classical literature, and by the extent and variety of his reading. That he was a hard student and a most pertinacious book-worm, we can readily believe; and we are also told that he was a facetious and pleasant companion. His conversation, like his book, was larded with frequent quotations from the classics; and it is probable that at this time he began to note down those odd and humorous extracts of which he afterward made such abundant use.

He appears to have hesitated long in regard to the choice of a profession; and it was not until 1614, when he was nearly forty years of age, that his final decision was taken, and he was admitted as a reader of sentences in the Established Church. Two years later he was appointed vicar of the parish of St. Thomas in the west suburb of Oxford; and subsequently the benefice of Walsby in Lincolnshire was conferred on him by the Countess Dowager of Exeter, but he resigned it for some reason which remains unexplained, though Burton himself refers to the circumstance. In 1621 he published "The Anatomy of Melancholy." In the Address to the Reader, he says his chief design in writing it was to wean his own mind from melancholy thoughts, and to prevent the growth of the malady which he dissects. "If any man," he says, "except against the matter or manner of treating of this my subject, and will demand a reason of it, I can allege more than one; I write of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy." Suffering not a little in his own mind with this malady, he was able to write from personal experience; "and for that cause," he says, "as he that is stung with a scorpion I would expel *clavum clavo*, comfort one sorrow with another, idleness with idleness, *ut ex viperâ Theriacum*, make an antidote out of that which was the prime cause of my disease."

The book which was written under these circumstances, and

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with this object, is, in several respects, one of the most remarkable and noteworthy productions in the language. It aims to present an exhaustive analysis of the causes and symptoms of melancholy, and of the curative agencies by which a restoration to health may be effected. At the same time it is one of the most closely packed storehouses of rare and curious learning to be found in the whole range of English literature. Much of its learning, indeed, is utterly worthless, and could only have been amassed in an age when pedantry was one of the cardinal virtues; but even with the largest deduction for this trash, enough remains to form a collection of quaint extracts, which is, we believe, altogether unique. The work is divided into three parts, or, as Burton calls them, partitions, severally treating of the causes, symptoms, and prognostics of melancholy, its cures, and its different forms; and these larger divisions are again subdivided into numerous sections, members, and subsections. There is also an elaborate and learned Address to the Reader, which covers a hundred and forty pages of the new edition, setting forth the nature and design of the work. The whole method of the author, indeed, is orderly and self-developed, though his treatment of his subject is often pedantical, and his book abounds in fantastic conceits.

The First Partition treats of melancholy as a disease, and is divided into four sections. Of these the first has reference to diseases in general, which are regarded as the just judgment of God, "to chastise us for our sins, and to satisfy God's wrath," and comprises a minute examination of both mental and bodily maladies. The second section fills more than half of the first volume, and is wholly devoted to the causes of melancholy. These are, in the first instance, the providence of God, diabolical agency, the malign influence of the stars, old age, and transmission from one's parents. Among the inferior causes are bad diet and air, certain mental affections, such as sorrow, the sense of shame and disgrace, the evil passions, self-love, and overmuch study. Thence we pass to an examination of the external or accidental causes, — education, terror, calumny, the loss of liberty, poverty, want, and the like. The next section describes the symptoms or signs of melancholy as they affect either the body or the mind, and as

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seen in particular persons, and briefly considers the causes of these various symptoms. The last section relates to the prognostics of melancholy, both good and bad.

From this examination of the causes and symptoms of melancholy, the author proceeds in his Second Partition to speak of its cure. In his first section he sets forth the curative influences and agencies which may be properly employed, and takes occasion to reject the invocation of saints, and some other "unlawful" means. His second section recommends care in diet, change of air, — in reference to which he offers some striking and well-considered suggestions, — judicious exercise of body and mind, calmness of mind, help from friends, change in the mode of one's life, music, and mirthful company. Following this we have in the third section a digression on the remedies of all manner of discontents, whether arising from physical deformity and sickness, adverse circumstances, the loss of friends, the affections, or from personal injuries. The fourth section is on medicinal physic, the simples properly applied to melancholy, vegetable alteratives, minerals, and compound medicines, with a few words on chirurgical remedies. The fifth and last section treats of the cure of three kinds of head melancholy, and a few other connected topics.

The Third Partition is also divided into four sections, and contains the diagnosis of melancholy. The first section is occupied with the subject of love-melancholy, and after a characteristic preface addressed to those who might think the topic "too light for a divine," it proceeds to discourse of the beginning, object, and definition of love, and of charity, as pleasant, profitable, and honest. This subject of love-melancholy is also discussed in the second section, which occupies more than half of the third volume, and exhibits the power and extent of love, the various causes of love-melancholy, such as beauty, artificial allurements, dress, different accomplishments, promises, tears, etc., and the symptoms of love-melancholy, its prognostics, and its cure, by means of labor, diet, change of residence, listening to the advice of one's friends, and in various other ways. In the third section we have an examination of the several kinds of jealousy, their causes, symptoms, and cure. The fourth and last section is on re-

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ligious melancholy, which "more besots and infatuates men," says Burton, "than any other above named whatsoever, does more harm, works more disquietness to mankind, and has more crucified the souls of mortal men (such hath been the Devil's craft) than wars, plagues, sicknesses, dearth, famine, and all the rest." The principal causes of this form of melancholy are the Devil and his instruments; its symptoms are a love of one's own sect, and a hatred of all other religions, obstinacy, peevishness, and the like; and for its cure Burton recommends summary measures. "For the vulgar," he says, "restrain them by laws, mulcts, burn their books, forbid their conventicles; for when the cause is taken away, the effect will soon cease. Now for prophets, dreamers, and such rude, silly fellows, that through fasting, too much meditation, preciseness, or by melancholy are distempered; the best means to reduce them *ad sanam mentem*, is to alter the course of their life, and with conference, threats, promises, persuasions, to intermix physic." The section closes with a discussion of the subject of religious despair, with the same distribution of topics which prevails throughout the treatise.

Though the work was, as we have seen, avowedly undertaken by Burton in the hope of solacing his own melancholy, it seems to have produced a contrary effect; and it is related that the disorder grew to such a height, that the only amusement he could find was in going down to the river-side, and listening to the scurrilous talk of the boatmen. This account is very likely to be true, though it bears a suspicious resemblance to what he himself says of the Greek Democritus,—"There he lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholly betaking himself to his studies and a private life, 'saving that sometimes he would walk down to the haven, and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw.'" But whatever may have been the effect on his own mind, the immediate popularity of the work was very great, and within seventeen years it passed through five editions, much to the pecuniary advantage of the publisher, who, as Wood quaintly observes, gained an estate by it. At his death Burton left an amended copy for a sixth edition, with some omissions, and many additions from authors with whom he was not acquainted when he first wrote.

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Neither the subject, however, nor the language in which his own thoughts were expressed, was exactly to his taste. "There be many other subjects," he says, "I do easily grant, both in humanity and divinity, fit to be treated of, of which had I written *ad ostentationem* only, to show myself, I should have rather chosen, and in which I have been more conversant, I could have more willingly luxuriated, and better satisfied myself and others; but that at this time I was fatally driven upon this rock of melancholy, and carried away by this by-stream, which, as a rillet, is deducted from the main channel of my studies, in which I have pleased and busied myself at idle hours as a subject most necessary and commodious." And elsewhere he tells us it was not his "intent to prostitute his muse in English, or to divulge *secreta Minervæ*," but to have written in Latin, if he could have found any one willing to print the book in that tongue. It was fortunate for Burton's fame, and for his continued popularity with English readers, that the booksellers of that age had a preference for works in the vernacular.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy" appears to have engaged his thoughts in a greater or a lesser degree from a very early period until the close of his life; and much the larger part of his time was spent in Oxford, which afforded him great facilities for its composition. But in 1636 he was made Rector of Segrave in Leicestershire through the friendly offices of George, Lord Berkeley. In recognition of this preferment Burton dedicated to his noble patron the sixth edition of the Anatomy. He did not, however, long enjoy his rectory, and on the 8th of January, 1639–40, he died in his chamber at Oxford. He had predicted the time of his death; and it was maliciously suggested by the college wits, when the event actually occurred near the specified time, that he put an end to his own existence in order to fulfil the prediction. He was buried in Christ Church, and a monument was erected to his memory with an inscription written by himself. He was never married; and by his will he gave most of his books to the Bodleian Library, and to the library of his own college. They form an extensive and very curious collection, and were apparently purchased with little or no regard to their intrinsic worth.

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Burton lived in a period of great intellectual activity, when the imagination was much cultivated, and questions of theology and politics were warmly debated. He was the contemporary of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Bacon, of Kepler, Des Cartes, and Grotius, of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. In the very year in which he was born, Peter Wentworth uttered his memorable speech in the House of Commons, and only a few months after his death the Long Parliament assembled. During this whole period the notes of preparation were sounding for the great conflict between the friends of prerogative and the friends of freedom. Yet, as he himself says, he was "a mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts." He heard "new news every day, and those ordinary rumors of war, plagues, fires, inundations, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in France, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Poland, &c., daily musters and preparations, and such like, which these tempestuous times afford; battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwrecks, piracies, and sea-fights; peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms. A vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, lawsuits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances, are daily brought to our ears. New books every day, pamphlets, currantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, &c." Yet in these discussions he took no part, and we know almost nothing of his opinions in regard to most of them. Indeed, he expressly says that he thought there was no great need for him to write any theological work, though he regarded divinity as "the queen of professions." Spenser and Bacon he quotes, but with this exception he seldom refers to the recent works of his countrymen. Still there are in different parts of the Anatomy references to passing events or to recent occurrences which show that he was not unmindful of the current of affairs; and his library contained many ephemeral pamphlets on the topics of the day.

He was never out of England, and he seldom wandered far

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from the scene of his labors in the library, or in his parish; yet he tells us that he had a great taste for geography, and even without his express avowal of an interest in this study we might infer it from his book. His habits were temperate, and his manners, he says, were blunt. "I am *aquæ potor*," he writes, "drink no wine at all, which so much improves our modern wits, a loose, plain, rude writer, *ficum voco ficum, et ligonem ligonem*, and as free as loose, *idem calamo quod in mente*, I call a spade a spade, *animis hæc scribo, non auribus*, I respect matter, not words; remembering that of Cardan, *verba propter res, non res propter verba:* and seeking with Seneca, *quid scribam, non quemadmodum*, rather *what* than *how* to write." Of medicine, like many clergymen of his day, he had some practical knowledge, and he entertained a high opinion of physicians. Indeed, if our memory does not deceive us, he drew a larger number of extracts from the writings of an Italian physician, Jerome Cardan, than from any other source. Of lawyers he thought poorly; and he somewhere says that they are "so litigious and busy here on earth, that I think they will plead their clients' causes hereafter, some of them in hell." He had a great horror of war, though he thought it was sometimes necessary; and we occasionally find intimations of his views on other subjects. His political principles, so far as we have any information on the subject, appear to have been liberal. Thus he says: "I hate these severe, unnatural, harsh, German, French, and Venetian decrees, which exclude plebeians from honors; be they never so wise, rich, virtuous, valiant, and well qualified, they must not be patricians, but keep their own rank; this is *naturæ bellum inferre*, odious to God and men, I abhor it." For the Jesuits, and, indeed, for all controversialists, he had a special antipathy. "They are an irrefragable society," he says in reference to the former; "they must and will have the last word." The study of theology he held in the highest estimation. In one place, he calls it "the most noble profession, and worthy of double honor," and in repeated instances he shows this attachment to the profession which he had deliberately adopted.

From the miscellaneous character of his library, and the

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number of authors whom he quotes, it should seem that his taste in literary matters was omnivorous. But probably every modern reader of the Anatomy has asked himself how far its author had read the works from which his materials are drawn, — in a word, whether his knowledge was exact or superficial. This question it is not easy to answer. It is certain, from his own admissions in different parts of his work, that some of his quotations were obtained at second hand; but we are inclined to believe that he was well acquainted with most of the writers to whom he refers. He tells us, indeed, that he had "confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our libraries, with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgment." Still it is certain that he must have read with much method, have possessed a prodigious memory, or been unwearied with his note-book. Such stores of learning are never amassed by merely "tumbling over" books, unless one is endowed with powers of a very uncommon order. That Burton possessed powers of such an order will scarcely be claimed by any one familiar with his writings.

His position in English literature is peculiar. No other writer has dealt so largely in quotations, or has given us so little of original matter. Yet he has been more or less read for two centuries and a half, and has been largely drawn from by other writers. Even as long ago as the publication of Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," various thefts from his book had been discovered; and we fear that the number of those who shine in plumage borrowed from his collections has not diminished since that time. His humor, though somewhat grim, is for the most part genial. When not depressed in spirits, he evidently took pleasure in humorous books, and in many sections of his work we find frequent proofs of this taste for the lighter parts of literature. His satire was pointed, but it was never malignant, and many of his satirical observations on the follies of men in every age are very happy. A scholar and a pedant, he appears to have preferred the solitude of a great library to the busy haunts of men, — to have cared more for what had been said and thought in Greece and Rome, than for what was passing around him. He never could have exclaimed with Milton, "I cannot praise a fugi-

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tive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." On the contrary, his virtue was essentially a cloistered virtue, and he appears to have been constitutionally averse to controversy, even in the defence of his most cherished opinions.

Art. V. — DR. BELLOWS AND THE PULPIT.

Restatements of Christian Doctrine, in Twenty-Five Sermons. By Henry W. Bellows, Minister of All Souls' Church. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

Nothing runs through a greater width of theory and variety of practice than what we call preaching. Accordingly, one of the questions among us most widely and passionately discussed, but quite unsettled, and even in the Christian community poorly understood, touches the province of the pulpit. But the sphere of the pulpit it equally concerns preachers and hearers rightly to conceive. In the judgment of some worldly persons its *importance* is on the decline, as it is in fact by many postponed to the lecture, the concert, the opera, and the play. Not a few say, there is too much preaching, and the preaching is too long. They want merely a perfunctory, superficial homily, and no discussion. With the vast majority of religious worshippers themselves, its influence is made secondary to other instrumentalities, — the altar, the reading-desk, and the book of prayer. Those who appreciate its office of moral and spiritual instruction as the grandest prerogative on earth, are furthermore exercised with painful doubts, and at times thrown into quarrelsome relations by diverse theories as to the subjects fit for its handling, or the manner, spirit, and proportion that should characterize its themes and thoughts.

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The multitude of actual experts and practitioners in holy things appear to esteem its proper scope as mainly comprised in the holding forth of a general truth, a good spirit, a devotional temper, and a heavenly policy, so far as these can be evolved from the ancient particulars noted in any part of the Bible. Thus their idea of preaching is filled out with the exposition of texts, the clearing up of the sacred history of Palestine, Egypt, and Assyria, back to the garden of Eden and the supposed Oriental creation of the world, with an account of the successive plans for saving man from the consequences of the Fall. Other ministers show their disgust at this bondage to the letter and entanglement in former circumstance, as in the absolute crudity of their newness they fling all antiquity behind their back. Meanwhile, but little express and textual light, available for the queries and emergencies of the present day, can be derived from the authority of the Master in whose name the pulpit speaks. As respects, however, both its rank and right use, one sentence from his lips should not fail to be quoted for the breadth and keenness of its sense. To his own disciples, as he was training them for teaching, he says, "Therefore every scribe, which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a man that is an housholder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." The modern preacher stands for the ancient scribe.

There can be no doubt as to the rank, among religious instrumentalities, Jesus himself gave to the public proclaiming of the law of God. From his other references to teachers and prophets under the Old Dispensation, from his directions and his final commission to his disciples as he sent them forth, as well as from his own practice, follows an irresistible conclusion that he esteemed preaching the word, beyond aught beside, whether public petition, recitation, or ritual, as the great institution of his religion. But even among Protestants the symbols of Christianity are too often put above its everlasting sense. That is verily a low pulpit, however outwardly uplifted, that would exclude from salvation any for being non-communicant or unbaptized. But it is not mean or wrong to say that the soul must perish that

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is deaf to the word of God. What but an abuse of the New Covenant, as gross as any Hebrew idolatry or superstition, is it to put any outward ceremony, any manual observance, or any symbolic performance, on a higher level of more exclusive solemnity or use than belongs to the earnest and lowly open speaking and hearing of the truth!

The ends of purity and love, for which such ordinances as Baptism and the Supper were enjoined, are indeed of transcendent weight. But it is plain the Lord relied on no font or communion-table for their promotion, as he did on the specific promulgation of the principles he enjoined. Moreover, the announcement he contemplated, above any literary record, was one in the ears of men of the living voice. The Reformed Church too confidently expects the redemption of the world from the gratuitous diffusion of the Book, which lies so often undisturbed on the receiver's shelf, or may be so thoughtlessly abused, as we learn from the story of the woman who exhibited to the colporteur one leaf as all of it she had left. Jesus Christ, providing for no registry of his words, and apparently anticipating no apparatus of print, trusted his revelation to the breath of his disciples. A sincere and sanctified utterance of his truth is the organ, primal and everlasting, he moved, and would have his followers wield. In other words, he gives to the pulpit, our modern equivalent for the first phrase of his meaning, the supreme place among the visible agencies of his kingdom in the world.

The pulpit, however, can vindicate the dignity he assigned only so far as it is by its occupants made, and by the people allowed, to approach the standard he reared. It peculiarly becomes a journal entitled like this, to ascertain what he assigned as the source of its power. Substituting our own for the ancient idiom in the exposition of his language, the pulpit is to draw exclusively neither from the *old* nor from the *new*, but from both united, — in other words, from the record of ancient Scripture applied to actual life. The preacher is to meet the wants of the soul through as large and liberal a diversity of means as a householder does those of the body. The head of a family or keeper of an inn — so in substance says Jesus to his audience — would treat

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his guest according exactly to his condition and need. He would give him bread or water, wine from the press or the grapes of Ephraim, and set before him whatever he called for, of all that could be furnished by what had been divinely described beforehand as a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates and olive-oil and honey. If the traveller arrived sick and faint, or had been wounded by the way, the host would bring his frankincense and myrrh, or balm of Gilead, with the physician to apply it, and every suitable medicine, as well as desirable food. It is a modern saying, there is nothing grown or made in any quarter of the world that cannot be bought in London, as there is nothing for which, among countless sojourners, there may not be some necessity or craving there. In like manner, the purveyor of a remoter time would search all nature and ransack the earth to make his supply meet the demand, and to all the servants in his great employ of the administration of his New Testament to mankind, the Master declares, just so must you freely proceed in your appliances to the heart. Stint nothing that it fairly asks. Feed its natural and healthy appetite for what is true and wholesome and good. Revive its exhaustion with stimulating promises and hopes. Bring the ample restoratives of kindness and mental hospitality and good cheer. Are any discouraged, worn out, ready to perish, and surrendered to death in their own minds? With every resource, and thorough use of mercy and pardon from heaven, fetch these poor souls to, as by rubbing and spirits of penetrating odor lifeless or unconscious men's bodies are resuscitated from drowning or a swoon, or as prisoners, of a strange sort, walled into the horrid cells of ruin tumultuously fashioned by a fallen house, hear wistfully with prayers to God the eager stroke of the digger's axe, and expect deliverance. If they are children of misfortune and acquainted with grief, even on their emptiness and destitution bestow comfort, as of old no house of refreshment could fully prove its title without kindness to the wanderer and poor. If they are wayward and venturesome pilgrims, warn them of their danger, mark the deviations, and point out the safe track to the city of rest and everlasting life. We should not have offered

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so long a paraphrase but for the exceeding beauty and noble liberality of the thought of Jesus, and that all this, and as much more as the moral illustration of human life can afford, is implied in what he says in his figure of drawing from the treasure or storehouse *the new and the old;* for this expression of *new and old* was an Arabic idiom for *universality.*

We cannot, however, in such a view, fail to be struck with the contrast between prevalent priestly or dogmatic customs, and the broad method of spiritual ministration Jesus himself introduced. No warrant does he give for the theological pounding we endure. His idea of the way to edify the human mind was truly generous as compared with that of those who even now would admit, in addresses to mankind, no departure from the literal circumstantiality of the old accepted canonical record, who plait actual sin with metaphysic theory, and who maintain a knowledge of Jewish geography as the only basis of the Sunday school, or of parental religious instruction of the young. The great Teacher, doubtless, meant to rebuke the very same degenerate style in those Jewish scribes, who pinned themselves to the letter and minuteness of their traditions of doctrine and precept and form, while they neglected the real necessities of men around them, that were hungering after nourishment, pining for consolation, or dying of the sin which no rabbi or doctor of divinity was able to cure. He adjures them not to confine themselves to their formalistic habits or the parchment-roll of their books, but to take lessons for the sustenance and healing of the famished and the patients in their charge, from the spirit and providence of God in all nature and life.

Nor was this any mere direction, without express example of what he intended. How we miss our own opportunities of cogent or pungent impression by not observing the truth, or else by turning into a dry and heartless technicality the base externals of his familiar mode! How closely he came to the business and bosom of men! Thank God, the thin vessel of his sermons, conversations, precepts, survives the heavy bulk of rabbinical lore, and surmounts the all-ingulfing tide of time, that has swallowed great argosies of philosophy and religion, to testify to the latest generation what is effectual access to

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the human mind. What and how familiar the characters and cases with which he does his potent and endless charm! We should for equal freedom come under condemnation as sacrificing the dignity of the pulpit. The sower in every sort of earth and soil, the enemy scattering tares, the woman hiding leaven in the meal, the buyer of that field with buried treasure, like so many pieces of ground in later times searched into and sifted for gold, the freebooter's deposit or a resurrection from the central fire, the merchantman seeking goodly pearls, and the net sweeping the sea for fish, — these all, to whom he had in his parables just referred, show how impossible anything could exist on earth so rude as not to be both ornament and edge to his heavenly discourse. But do they not also show how much more wide and common than we have yet imagined, is the range of instances embraced in our own career, through whose prudent selection the immortal verities he taught should be yet explained and applied?

All preachers and hearers have pressing occasion to consider how far in this matter they are faithful or false to their Lord. Alas that the vice he condemned in the theological leaders and canting devotees of the age in which he came should be so flagrant still in his own Church! We do not seem to be aware that we ourselves slip into it if we attempt to build up present character by merely recovering and dwelling upon those specialties of Israelitish life and precise ways of Pharisaic sin, in the midst of which, necessarily, lay the work of the Son of God, although they are as obsolete now as the fashion of the high-priest's robe or the frontlets between the people's eyes. It is a curious, and should be to us a startling fact, how directly preachers lose the essence of their Master's mode by doting on its outside. Paradoxical as it may seem, literal imitation is always the bane and preventive of real likeness. Christianity is no costume. The dress it first wore only reveals the living figure, which, like the human form, can put on the thousand-fold garb of every age. He that worships the jot and tittle, the signs and tropes, even of our Lord's instruction, commits the same mistake the Lord himself blamed in the traditionists of his own day. He that frames an everlasting scheme for human rescue, out of the shifting meta-

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phors and local logic of apostolic argumentation, is a scribe yet of that besotted and inveterate stamp which the great prophet, with a mighty hand, would forever erase. He is out of place in an advancing age. He is no soul-regenerator, but at best only a religious antiquarian. He gives us the "wise saw" without the "modern instance." He is attached to a particle; he is the appendage of a circumstance; he sticks to the letter; he lives in a date. He certainly has not read any such treatise as Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, or understood the wisdom it so quaintly unfolds. What we want is not "the very form and pressure" of a long-past period, but rather to eliminate, for our own enlivening now, the eternal essences and fundamental realities of the Divine manifestation on earth. We want Christ's ideas of God, his convictions of duty and appeals to human nature, in their perpetual spirit, beyond any former partial use. We want what has been ordered and done, only to bear on what we should now order and do. We want the new as well as the old, and the old but for the sake of the new: — as, to recur to Christ's figure, on the householder's board the spices of the East and the sweets of the tropics might be placed to crown and perfect the contributions of yesterday from the field, the orchard, and the stall; or as some sister of mercy, visiting an abode of poverty and disease, might add the vintage of the last century to the basket of fresh fruit, with her own face of dear and wistful pity connecting both, to renew and strengthen a mortal sufferer's sinking body and soul. We want, in short, continual exemplification and fresh incarnation of everlasting doctrines and laws; and not until a nobler than the once fancied metempsychosis is realized by the transmigration of the soul of our religion into the fashion of every rising century and land, will its adequate result of glory appear.

But how far, it may be relevant to ask, are the pulpit and the pew equal to the actual instauration of such a revival across the presumption of sectarian creeds, against the arrogance of worldly habits, and above the level of ecclesiastical routine? Assuming a comprehension by the minister of his post, will the congregation of his hearers endure the contact of every keen precept of righteousness with all that is sensitive

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in their private motives, domestic ways, social usages, public offices, and commercial affairs? We have styled this a relevant inquiry. Impertinent rather let it be called! It is the greatest mistake the reformer commits, to suppose the spirit must ever on earth be dumb. There is room and time always, in this world, for wisdom and love to speak. It is time for us to die if there be not! Commotion and fierce trouble in certain localities, or among prejudiced individuals anywhere, may still, as before in human history, come from the bold and plain treatment of rooted evils. Personalities of the mouth may draw forth revenges of the hand. Not seldom we may be in doubt which is the greatest sinner, hand or mouth, the orator or the mob, the tongue that hisses or the tongue that may be worse than a dagger to stab. Yet there is nothing but a libel in the commonplace charge that Sunday assemblies, even of nominal Christians, have no toleration for the honest truth, and that every just and sincere speaker of it must perforce be a martyr, driven from his station or crucified by a merciless unpopularity if he remains. It is often said the flocks are before their shepherds, the people in advance of their guides. We do not believe that the speakers of this generation are so incomparably superior to their audiences after all. We talk of freedom of speech. We have plenty of that in these New England latitudes. God forbid we should subject it to any ungenerous restraint! Let us remember, however, that rhetoric is far more dangerous and corrupting in itself than listening, which is often a very great virtue. The noblest and purest teachers in this community, at least, are not most commonly rejected or put down, basely as some desire to extinguish them with intolerance or brute force. The harper on one string, with those cheaply monotonous and wilfully thrumming strokes of his, that cost no toil of brain, may tire all the company beside himself. The political or philanthropic partisan, who undertakes to anticipate the judgment-day by dividing his society into the sheep and the goats on the spot, may find the doomed naturally somewhat restive under the premature sentence of haughty and usurping lips. Some, in the best society the world has yet to show, will resent the gentlest bringing of Almighty justice

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into relation with human deeds. But are not candor and the desire of moral benefit, nevertheless, at such a premium with most civilized folk, that the faithful and loving voice of one who is no stranger, but a friend, will be patiently heard, even when instead of pleasure it may give pain? The answer of facts to such a question we think very clear. We at least have no observation or experience that requires or permits from us a negative reply.

But the pulpit is something more than a moral agency. It deals not only with human sin and crime. It is a ministry too for human suffering and sorrow. It should be the great awakener of human hope. It is set to be the nurse of those aspirations of an immortal nature whose reach and glory all the gorgeous descriptions of the New Jerusalem can but hint. They grievously mistake its office who make it mainly a field of dispute, on however conscientious points. It should introduce God, who is not conscientious, but good. It should bring us into the society of angels; and a conscientious angel, it has been said, would be a monster. There is an excess of conscientious contention even among men. Few show the beauty of allowing others to do conscientiously what they conscientiously cannot. Only when God's servants rise into the higher region of faith and trust and love, and lift others with them, is the complete blessing of the Gospel bestowed.

Here too shines out the wisdom of the immeasurably inspired Son of Man's reference, uniting elder knowledge with his fresh communications; for, while the *new* scene should fix the eye and engross our effort, how marvellously the *old* chronicle comes to our aid! In this perfect wedding of the old with the new, as well as in a heavenly origin, lies the peculiar power of that book, the Bible, from which the pulpit derives its texts. When it is so used, its worth can hardly be over-prized. Whatever else that volume may be, and whatever flaws criticism may pick in it, or whatever wrong theories of its verbal or uniform inspiration may obtain, it is at least the best synopsis of human history, the grandest monument of human experience, the most venerable and satisfying story of Divine transactions with the human race,

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the sublimest account of what has been done on earth, and the clearest hand-book of heaven. To the heart which is solitary, whether in its struggles or soarings or pangs, what a comfort and delight to find that even such, point by point, has been the case with others of old, and it is not indeed alone! Far off in the world, far back in time, behold the counterparts and witnesses to every sentiment it can cherish, every rapture it can rise with, and all the anguish by which it may be wrung! Great and venerable are the advocates, defenders, and advisers, who, in the idiom of a new school, are indeed *spirits present* at its side. Abel entreats it, in its hesitancy before temptation, to offer the better sacrifice. Noah beckons it into the ark from the flood to sweep away the wicked. Wandering Abraham keeps company with it in every sad pilgrimage from its home, or, an awful shape, descends Mount Moriah to bestead and cheer it in the sorest pass of self-denial, as with the knife, taken from his shadowy hand, it cuts away darling appetites and all objects that are idols, and on the wings of his unfaltering confidence rises to God. Moses from Sinai still plants before it, in every perplexity of conduct, his sharp-cut tables of stone. It listens, out of the deeps of humility, penitence, or joy, to the song of David which intervening lands and seas, and hurrying events, and slow-pacing ages cannot keep from its ear. It muses with Ecclesiastes on this checkered, self-contradictory, unnamable, and indefinable thing we call human life. Through the gulfs of thousands of years the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel stretch their looming suggestions, which no overthrows, dispersions, or restitutions of cities or races, in Hebrew annals, could exhaust, and drain the fountain dry. With a meaning yet to be fulfilled, like heavy-sailing clouds they pass to drop their burdens on other shores. From Jesus Christ come tones, echoed by his Apostles, out of an immensity and eternity, whose counsels and consolations befit alike every time where is any living spirit to hear.

But, through every turn and inch of this mighty wheel of power over our minds, the peculiar and not wholly explainable effect arises from this marriage of the *new* and the *old*, in the appropriate celebration of which by the preacher his

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office finds its peculiar work. Much of the virtue of this influence lies of course in the reading of Holy Writ. But much more mankind will own in the hearing of the spoken Word. Only with some liberty of language is any, however revered, register of the past to be called that Word of God which is "quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword." The record taken up, vitalized in the soul and face and voice, and sent alive from breast to breast, — till every part of its ancient organic strength is worked over and matched again in human fortunes, — is what we mean by preaching; and such preaching will always vindicate itself as, beyond all ceremony, second only to the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the great operation of the Almighty hand for the regeneration of the world. No literature, sacred or profane, no poetry, no philosophy, no plastic art, no thrilling music, no imposing form, can take the place of that which it pleases God to put still on human lips, his own living Word. We need not fear that, by any other action or novel invention, this *utterance* will be superseded or displaced. Every genuine whisper of it we can catch and repeat shall tell forever on the soul. Let him never doubt his mission to whom such a whisper comes!

The author of the book whose title is the prefix of this piece, and the great public, whom he addresses with his voice and his pen, must pardon us if our enjoyable perusing of his page has prompted us to this descant on the profession he adorns, rather than to minute dissection of his work. That work is no thorough treatment of a single subject. Feeling he must have some general description, he chooses "Readjustment" and "Restatements of Faith," with various sections included. But his production hardly indicates any homogeneous quality or continuous design. Some sermons are introduced bearing upon topics he has himself otherwise made prominent before the public mind. But no single train of thought runs through from beginning to end. The volume is made up, under separate headings, of sermons, somewhat miscellaneous, but so excellent and striking as to place them in the front rank with similar compositions issued in our own day, yet presenting only a fair sample of all his very rare and superior discoursing.

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Each particular topic is conceived with a long-sighted, unerring purpose, and unfolded with a grasp and unity of thought, depth of reasoning, and fertility of illustration, which would give beauty and force to an abstract discussion. But Dr. Bellows adds to these traits such constant proposal of a practical aim, such thorough and faithful dealing with all incidents and emergencies of the day, and such clear and profound solving of every question of men's minds or duty of their lives, as to make his example one of the finest extant, of the sort of preaching we have ventured already to define. We do not think, indeed, that he always finally disposes of the matter he may have in hand. Inquiries are occasionally raised, in his pursuit of which we do not go with him to the end. Instances might be quoted even of that inconsistency which he, on some of these leaves, so admirably explains and defends. But he himself is consistent throughout. The same masterly intellect shines, the same big heart beats, the same lively fancy pours out its riches, the same ecstatic devotion breathes its vows, the same unlimited humanity tenderly overflows, through every variety of argument or theme. As to the consistency of opinion, which no honest and growing soul ever maintained, and which only a hypocrite could of all his moods of reflection affirm,—what is it, compared with this other consistency of character and prayer! If the river of love runs, steady as it did, score after score of years, only ever farther and more full, then on the mountain of dogma let the elements wear and grind, strong as we considered that up-thrown, proud, and rocky mountain to stand! We hope it is not audacious in us to suppose we owe this book in part to the author's willingness that men should know he is not caught in the cleft of the oak he tried to rive, as some of the critics have supposed; but that he has several things, and not one alone, in his mind, as he demonstrates triumphantly indeed. If we may change the figure, his bark careens frightfully to the very gunwale, but her breadth of beam brings her up on another tack to pursue the same voyage.

Could we presume to analyze the faculty of our friend, we should call it more of the *reflective* than *intuitive* kind. He looks *out* earnestly upon the world. He is concerned seriously

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for his race. He remarks wistfully all the doings and ongoings of society and individual men. He considers how, in the discharge of his own vocation, he shall guide, correct, and sanctify human life. He watchfully distils wisdom from passing events. He has rarely been equalled for a wonderful freshness of hand, and a vivid, persevering enthusiasm in his calling. No man is more true to the character of that calling. He *follows* it, indeed, not with the frigidity of some honest incumbents, but stirred with a live coal in him blown into kindling by every wind. He derives his topic and motive greatly from actual observation of the needs of his fellow-creatures, and more seldom meets us with the flashes of an originating imagination or the burdens of a prophetic seclusion. He feels the consciousness of the common soul, and rejoices to be part of his kind, more than in any idiosyncrasy. There is a marvellous mixture in him of tenderness and courage. His brave masculine admonition he puts in an almost womanly way. There is a curvilinear grace of sure approach, a candid insinuation of his design, a grip softly yielding, but not giving or slipping off, in his very wrestling with his hearers' conscience and will. He draws, and never drives. We suspect, throughout the composition, a generosity no malice alters or ingratitude could check. The temper of his writing would prove him as incapable of sourness or wrath as he is teeming with frankness and truth. As, sentence after sentence, we note his gentle knightly courtesy, we almost long for him to diversify his manner with some quick steps, straight lines, and short Roman stabs, which, in certain cases of the Christian soldier's warfare, are no less merciful than just, veritable *coups de grace*. But we are quite content to have so much, and just what he vouchsafes, furnished in any one man. Indeed, Dr. Bellows himself, with all his gradualness and grace, is of a very prompt nature. He does his best at once. He thinks fast enough on his legs. He musters his forces, fights, and conquers, at beat of drum. But he makes no fell assault, incites no fearful duel or fierce encounter in the lists, and engages in no deadly grapple even with Satan. He would prefer, like Burns, to ask a blessing on "auld Nickie-ben."

The literary style of Dr. Bellows is his own, the very type

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and weapon of an individualized power; and this is so really the best to be said of any style, that we need hardly describe it further. We may perhaps add, that it is the style of a worker, an entirely business-style, not very compact, classic, or finished, but pointed and effective, ever seeking its end, relieved from all dryness by a perpetual dew of sentiment, open as the dawn, and often lighted up with gleams of unsought brilliance. Very admirable in most respects as an oral, it is scarcely faultless as a written style. It is rapid, almost hasty, and, some might say, at times careless, with a plainness here and there running into over-familiarity, and an impulse apt to push on at the expense of the careful and well-consulted conclusion, to which no penman is more competent. But we feel as if we were subjecting the solid and splendid substance to superficial cavil for minor characteristics, perhaps inevitable from professional labors urgent and not to be postponed. If our brother's style have not the last polish of the most accomplished rhetorician, it has none of that luminous fog we have to wade through in many ambitious performances, painted up with broad patches and tall shafts of confused splendor, whose golden mist discloses distinctly no path to walk in, nor the place and size of any object in the world, and proposes nothing but to be visible and glorious itself. Says Goethe, our fault is that we make beautiful descriptions, instead of describing beautiful things. But no sin of human speech is so great as that of the preacher whose object is his sermon, and not the salvation by it of his people's souls. From this sin Dr. Bellows is singularly free.

We have left ourselves no space, and we are sensible of no need, to examine particular discourses in a series which most of our readers will already have by heart. We may, however, mention as a curiously significant fact, that what have struck us as the two best discourses, in the volume of this liberal and rational thinker, are upon Jesus Christ, as the Sufferer, and as the head of all Principality and Power. These two discourses have in them also, to an unusual degree, that rounding and completing art, which makes the finest manner, whether of a sermon or a song. Even from a nominally orthodox treatment of the same themes, it would be hard to match their pathos and power.

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We give, then, hearty welcome to these as we believe first-fruits in book form of the genius of Dr. Bellows. Still more, we gratefully recognize the importance of his whole work in the country and its great metropolis, and express our earnest faith in the mission he is yet to fulfil. We ask a blessing on all, detailed from the celestial troop to be heralds of God's message here in time. The pulpit, we repeat, is the great organ of religion. Sunday is its chosen period. The walls of the church are a defence around it, and their inner space, frequented with living souls, its opportunity. All good spirits, and especially the ghosts of our forefathers, forbid the substitution of any formalism for its proclamation of God's will! Let the austerity of Puritanism be smoothed with all gentleness and artistic beauty, but its soul of sanctity, simplicity, and sincerity preserved! To this by the blood we are born of, that flows in us, we are pledged. They who, in however high places, presume to measure swords with its mighty apparition, still haunting with benediction and power the old scenes of its abode, will how surely be laid low! Our ancestry breasted wave, winter, and wilderness, for what? To speak and hear the Word of God is what by the Pilgrims we have been taught. It is lesson enough, — of transcendent and enduring grandeur.

But for both preacher and people there is a finer listening than of the outward sense. In Raphael's great picture of Cecilia, patroness of music, the saint is represented as overhearing the angels' song. Straightway her head is lifted, and all her own sweet instruments drop from her hands. The pipes slip out, the viol is fallen and broken, cymbal and timbrel, polished triangle and delicate drum, are strewn in confusion at her feet, while she in transport drinks in strains which we may imagine her to impart to her votaries, anew to entrance the world. So should we often relinquish the melodies we contrive to make, and let them die away, that we may hearken to the upper choir. Such self-renouncing shall be no loss of skill. We shall resume our instruments, with touches tuning them to the perfect harmony.

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Art. VI. — DR. HUNTINGTON ON THE TRINITY.

Christian Believing and Living. Sermons by F. D. Huntington, D. D., Preacher to the University, and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard College. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1860.

In the volume of Sermons thus designated we gratefully acknowledge a rich contribution to homiletic literature, and not only so, but a real addition to the sentimental life of the time. Dr. Huntington gives proof in these discourses of a special vocation for the preacher's office, not always or often manifest in otherwise able and worthy divines. A born *ecclesiastes*, and not merely a man of fine powers, who from taste or accidental determination has assumed the function. It needs something more than distinguished ability, — more than learning and "humane eloquence," however coupled with purity of manners and acquiescence in the creed of the Church, — to fully furnish the preacher of the Gospel. It needs, above all other graces and gifts, a religious nature and an ecclesiastical spirit. And these Dr. Huntington exhibits in an eminent degree. He possesses that quality, half intellectual, half moral, — that combination of the spiritual mind and the earnest soul, fervid temper, and devout imagination, — which constitutes what may be termed a genius for religion. As a preacher to the conscience and the feelings on topics of spiritual life and purely practical import, he has few superiors in this generation. No candid reader, however he may criticise and repudiate the author's theological views, can fail to perceive or refuse to acknowledge the evidences of strong religious sensibility and spiritual fervor which broadly pervade and distinguish these compositions.

But the more decided his gift and success in his own legitimate province, the more we regret that he should ever turn aside from the inculcation of practical truth to argue questions of speculative theology, where at once his want of the necessary qualifications for such discussion, and the discrepance of abounding zeal and defective knowledge, of dazzling assurance and dim apprehension, are painfully ap-

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parent. There are few to whom it is given, like the great preachers of reviving Christendom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to unite intellectual vision, dialectic subtilty, and spiritual depth with the popular gift of practical discourse. Dr. Huntington is not one of these. He discourses much better than he sees, and is abler in illustrating given truths than he is in discriminating truth from falsehood. The moment he enters the domain of theology proper, we miss the scientific mind which religion needs not, but which theology may not dispense with. We miss the intuitive as well as the dialectic faculty. We miss the penetration and critical tact, and, more than all, the learning, which are needed to light up effectually the dark questions of divinity, or to make the discussion of them profitable, or even — to thoughtful minds — tolerable.

The sermon entitled "Life, Salvation, and Comfort for Man in the Divine Trinity," the most elaborate in this collection, illustrates our remark, provoking criticism not so much of the views maintained as of most of the reasoning employed in their defence. Coming from one whose former position was known to be adverse to the doctrine here professed, whose sermon of five years since, to that effect, is still fresh in the minds of many, and who therefore stands before the public in the attitude of a recent convertite, this particular sermon has awakened an interest by no means due to its real value as compared with the rest of the volume. Its interest is that of confession, not of thought. Our first impression of it raised in us the question: For whom was it written? For the learned or the unlearned, laymen or theologians? It seemed to us equally unfitted for either class. Dr. Huntington surely could not suppose that his exposition of the doctrine he discusses, and his reasoning about it, would be satisfactory to theologians of any school. He must have felt the inadequacy of his statement and defence to meet the requirements of Biblical scholars. And yet, on the other hand, considered as addressed to a mixed audience, the sermon, notwithstanding its fervid tone and fascinating unction, is in the dogmatic and expository parts of it too abstruse and metaphysical for popular edification. As a theological argument,

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competent critics will regard it as worthless. Dr. Huntington does not seem to us to have even understood the real import of the dogma he so zealously maintains, still less its historic origin and doctrinal bearings.

It is not necessary to a full and conscientious reception of any doctrine, that one should be able to defend it with logical or theological proofs. A man's confession may be sincere, although his apprehension be imperfect and his reasons inadequate. We believe in the Augustinian maxim which puts faith in religion before understanding. *Fides præcedit intellectum.* But when the confessor of a doctrine does undertake to expound and to teach it, — when, moreover, that confessor is also Professor in a learned University, — and when especially, as in this case, he has come to his adopted views from another confession and creed, — we expect the *intellectus* also. And this is precisely what we miss in this discourse. In our comments upon it we wish it understood once for all that we are not arguing against the Trinity * as conceived by the early Church, and expressed in the so-called Apostles' Creed; our polemic relates solely to Dr. Huntington's view, which confounds that doctrine with an ecclesiastical and metaphysical Tripersonality, and proposes a philosophem of after ages as a fundamental article of the Christian revelation. A triad of Christian sanctities — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost — is one thing; the doctrine of Tripersonality, whether true or false, is another and a very different thing. The last is no part of the Gospel, so far as the Gospel is expressed in the writings of the New Testament. Nor is it the creed

* We use this word, in deference to ecclesiastical custom, to denote the aboriginal Christian doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, — i. e. of a God self-revealing in his Word and self-communicating by his Spirit. The word Trinity (*trinitas*, *τριάς*), which, late in the second century or early in the third, was used to express this idea, by emphasizing the numerical element, unintentionally colored it with something alien. The universal prevalence of the doctrine itself in the early Church is patent to every student of ecclesiastical history. It appears conspicuous in various monuments which have come down to us, — among others, in the clumsy figure of Ignatius (Epistle to the Ephesians), which represents Christ as the pulley and the Holy Spirit as the rope by which we are hoisted to God.

It is matter of regret that the "Unitarians" of a former generation were led by their needful and timely protest against Trinitarian dogmatism into a position of seeming hostility, and, in some cases, of real indifference, to this doctrine.

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of the early Church. Dr. Huntington confounds the two in one assertion, and concludes them both in one evangelical authority. It is this tripersonality of God, as expressed in the pseudo-Athanasian Creed, which he affirms to be the true evangelical Trinity, — the doctrine of the New Testament.

With the notion itself — the Athanasian conception of the Godhead — we have no quarrel. As an article of speculative theosophy we have not only no objection to it, but are willing to confess a speculative leaning toward it. But when it is thrust dogmatically forward as one of the essentials of the Christian faith, as of binding authority, and as Scripture doctrine, we feel it to be a falsity and an offence. And knowing as we do that many well-meaning and pious Christians cannot find in it the "Life, Salvation, and Comfort" which Dr. Huntington promises, but, on the contrary, are much disturbed when that is urged as divinely authorized Gospel truth, with which their own consciousness cannot adjust itself, we feel bound to protest against the assertions and assumptions of this plea.

It is somewhat unexpected to find ourselves in the year of grace 1860 gravely reiterating what Trinitarian scholars of critical repute now concede, that the dogma of the Tripersonality is not the doctrine of the New Testament. Nor can we be expected to retrace in detail the weary commonplaces of this debate. We have neither the spirit nor the space to lug forth and spread out the mouldy straw which other generations have threshed so soundly. All the arguments which human wit could devise to extort from the Scripture a confession of the Three Persons, have been disposed of before Dr. Huntington came upon the stage. The books which contain them and the answers to them have long been gathered to their kindred dust in the "dumb forgetfulness" of old libraries. Let those who are curious seek them there. We shall not resuscitate them. Our purpose is confined to a brief examination of some of Dr. Huntington's positions.

With obvious reason, the preacher has chosen for the text

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of his discourse the solitary passage of the New Testament in which "Father," "Son," and "Holy Ghost" are named together (Matt. xxviii. 19), and from which the Church in after time derived the baptismal formula. He finds in these words "a ministry, an initiatory ordinance, a creed." And the creed, according to him, is "the Triune name." Here at the threshold a wanton misstatement and a gross perversion of the fact. Three names are mentioned, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Of triunity, of the three-in-one or the one-in-three, not a syllable, not the faintest intimation. The words were uttered at the parting of Jesus with his disciples. "Now if ever," says Dr. Huntington, "Christ will distinctly proclaim the doctrine of Christendom." Be it so! If then the doctrine of Christendom, according to the intent of the Master, were the Tripersonality of God, "Christ will distinctly proclaim" it. Has he done so? He has proclaimed three sanctities. Of triunity, of tripersonality, we repeat, not a word, not the faintest intimation. The attempt to find it here but proves, in the preacher's own language, "how desperate are the shifts of a determined theory." We thank him for these words, — they express precisely what we have felt at many points of his argument.

The discourse proceeds. "Our faith is summoned to the three persons of the one God: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. No hint is given that there is any difference of nature, dignity, duration, power, or glory between them. There is nothing in the situation, the relations, or the contents of the Divine formula* to suggest that either of the three is less than the others, or less than God." Why should there be? what need of any hint? Does it necessarily follow, in the absence of any hint to the contrary, that, where three are named together, the three are equal? Was it

* We do not understand that our Saviour meant to prescribe in those words, "Baptizing them in the name," &c., a formula to be used in the rite of baptism, nor does it appear that the words were so construed or this formula adopted in the Apostolic age. The word ὄνομα here is redundant (see Schleusner, sub voc.), and the sentence may be rendered: "Baptizing (i. e. initiating) them into (the knowledge of) the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The Father the Supreme God, the Son the Redeemer of the world, the Holy Ghost the Sanctifier.

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likely that those whom our Saviour addressed on this occasion would, without a "hint," infer that equality in the three here named? On the contrary, so foreign was the notion of such an equality from all Judaistic habits of thought and belief, that, had the Master intended to teach it, we must suppose he would "distinctly proclaim" it, that there might be no mistake. We therefore turn the tables, and say, No hint is given that there is any equality of nature, dignity, duration, power, or glory between them. There is nothing in the situation, the relations, or the contents of the Divine formula, to suggest that either of the three is level with the others, or that more than one of them is to be regarded as God.

"Each of them," continues Dr. Huntington, "is elsewhere in the Scriptures referred to as God. Each of them is distinguished [?] from the others by the personal pronouns. To each of them Divine attributes and Divine acts are ascribed, and to each Divine worship is offered." Waiving or granting the question as it regards the Son, where, we ask, is the Holy Ghost referred to in the Scriptures as personal God distinct from the Father? Where in the Scriptures is supreme worship offered to the Son and the Holy Ghost? "The term *Trinity* is not applied to the doctrine in the Bible, but it is a definite and just description of what the Bible teaches." If so, we agree that "there is no reason why it should not be adopted and used." Only let us see to it what we mean by Trinity, and not confound it with Tripersonality, — the baptismal confession with the ecclesiastical philosophem.

Farther on (p. 369) we read, as an argument for the personal Godhead (distinct from the other two) of the Holy Spirit: "The baptismal formula of the text would alone put the personality of the Holy Spirit on a ground of reasonable certainty through the most natural understanding of the words. . . . . How forced would be the suppression, — and putting what a repulsive ambiguity on this final and momentous commission of the Lord's followers for the conversion of the world, — if he first mentioned two names which, as all alike agree, are names of distinct persons, and then slipped in

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without notice or explanation a name which purports [?] to be just as much the name of a person as the other two, but which is only a common noun signifying an immaterial influence!" Was ever such reasoning! The phrase Holy Ghost was a term in common use among the Jews of that day. It was used to denote a particular form of Divine agency, or a special effect of that agency, or a special beatitude of humanity, as where John the Baptist says of the coming Christ: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." It was spoken of, not as a being distinct from God, with a separate life and volition, but as God himself in that particular manifestation, or God's reflection and witness in man. Why should Christ then stop to explain what none of his hearers, we have reason to suppose, would be likely to mistake? Dr. Huntington's position in regard to this passage is, that where three are named together, and two of the three are persons, it follows that, without an explanation to the contrary on the part of the speaker, the third must be understood to be a person also. We know of no grammatical or rhetorical rule which necessitates such an inference, especially where, as in the present case, the third is distinguished by the neuter pronoun from the other two, which are masculine. If it were so, the converse would be equally true,—that where two of the three are impersonal, the other must be impersonal also. And so we might infer the impersonality of the Holy Spirit from 1 John v. 8. If the "water" and the "blood" are not personal, then neither is the "spirit" personal according to this way of reasoning.

In the Supper discourse (John xiv., xv., xvi.) our Saviour, it is true, as the preacher remarks, personifies the Holy Spirit with the word παράκλητος, which our version renders Comforter. But no unprejudiced reader can fail to perceive that the personification here is purely rhetorical. "And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may be with you forever; *the spirit of truth*, which* the world cannot receive because it seeth it* not, neither knoweth it;* but ye know it, for it stayeth by you and shall be in you.

* Not *whom* and *him*, as in our version. We translate from Tischendorf's text.

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I will not send you away orphans, I am coming to you." Mark how Jesus identifies the Comforter with himself. It is his own influence which they are to experience after he is gone, and which will be to them as if he returned to them in person. And so in the other three passages of this discourse, in which the Holy Spirit is designated by the word Comforter. It is not spoken of as a separate existence, but as an influence proceeding from God and Christ, whose agency is personified by that term. The difference between a rhetorical personification and an apodictic declaration of personality is too obvious to need elucidation. The preacher asks: "In those tender and solemn conversations, charged with the only hope and counsel to the disciples about to be bereaved, and indeed to the world of mankind, is it possible that our Saviour was dealing in dark paradoxes or uninterpreted figures of rhetoric?" It is not only possible, but an undeniable fact, as the preacher, were he more familiar with the Scripture to which he appeals, and less inaccurate, would have known. Not to speak of the figure of the "house of many mansions," and the "Way," &c., and the figure of the "Vine," which occupies with its amplifications a third part of the fifteenth chapter, our Saviour emphatically declares, toward the close of this discourse, — referring to what he had been saying, — "These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs, but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I shall show you plainly of the Father." The word here rendered "proverb," *παροιμία*, signifies that very thing against which the preacher protests, — "dark paradoxes." See Schleusner, who defines the word, in its application to this passage, "sententiam gravem, obscuram, abstrusam et per figuras propositam . . . . . sermonem obscuriorem et intellectu difficiliorem qui explanatione eget."

And now we come to a passage wherein it is impossible to acquit the author of either great carelessness of statement or great disingenuousness. "Many other passages in the Gospels and Epistles can be wrested from their obvious meaning" — that is, of the personality of the Spirit — "only by a similar violence. It is so with the Apostolical benedictions, which were evidently intended to be what they have so generally

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proved, the familiar repositories and oft-repeated symbols of the great central facts of Christian theology.* Apart from some preconceived purpose, who would ever suppose there was a sudden lapse or deviation from the personal to the impersonal style, on getting half or two thirds through that worshipful and pre-eminent blessing, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all evermore'?" Now what is the obvious understanding of this passage, and the allegation contained in it? The writer is speaking of the personality of the Holy Spirit; it is doing violence, he maintains, to the language of his text not to find it there, as also in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of John; and then, in the passage we have cited, he pleads that this is the obvious meaning of *many other passages* in the Gospels and Epistles, which can only be wrested from that meaning by "similar violence." He does not specify one of those passages by so much as a reference to chapter and verse, but, hiding himself in a prudent vagueness, he continues, "It is so with the Apostolical benedictions." The Apostolical benedictions, then, he would have it inferred, (from his use of the plural,) as a general rule, make mention of the Holy Spirit, and that in the sense of a person. But what is the fact? In the twenty-one Epistles and the Apocalypse there occur — including the opening with the closing — some forty benedictions. Out of these forty, more or less, there is *only one in which the Holy Spirit is so much as mentioned.* In all the rest, it is either Christ alone that is referred to, as, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you;" or God with Christ, as, "Grace unto you, and peace, from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." We can hardly conceive of a stronger proof of the truth of our position, that the modern Trinitarian doctrine is not the doctrine of the New Testament, than precisely this fact. If the Apostles had had the Trinity in their minds, how could they have so ignored it? If Dr. Huntington was not aware of this fact, he was not qualified to discuss this subject. If he *was* aware of it, and still used the vague plural, then "how desperate are the shifts of a determined theory"!

* A dangerous admission, this, for a "Trinitarian."

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One case, however, there is, out of all these benedictions, in which the Holy Ghost is joined to the names of God and Christ. It is that referred to by Dr. Huntington, of 2 Cor. xiii. 14, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion* of the Holy Ghost, with you all!" On this the preacher thus comments: "Apart from some preconceived purpose, who would ever suppose there was a sudden lapse or deviation from the personal to the impersonal style, on getting half or two thirds through that worshipful and pre-eminent blessing?" To which we reply, that without some preconceived purpose, no one surely would dream of maintaining, that because Jesus Christ whose favor, and God whose love, the Apostle invokes for his Corinthians, are persons, therefore the Holy Spirit, which he prays may be communicated to them, is personal also. "When," says Neander, "a man intrenches himself in some particular dogmatic interest, and makes that his central position, he can easily explain everything in conformity with his own views, and find everywhere a reflection of *himself*." For our own part, so different is the look of this passage to us, so decided its leaning in the opposite direction, that, if we were searching for Scriptural arguments against the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit, as separate from that of God and of Christ, this would be one of our proof-texts. Three names are named. To the first two, personal attributes — favor and love — are ascribed. The third is distinguished from the other two, in that no such attributes are connected with it, but that, on the contrary, it is spoken of as something diffusive and extended, — a quality, an influence, not a person in any legitimate sense of the word.

Strange as it may seem, considering the length of this sermon, which occupies more than sixty pages of a closely printed, middle-sized volume, we have already exhausted the author's Scriptural argument in defence of the Tripersonality. The Deity of Christ is a separate question; we speak of that portion of the argument only which bears directly on the doctrine of the Trinity. Divested of the prodigal trail of nebulous

* Ἡ κοινωνία, communication, or participation in common.

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matter which accompanies it, the solid argument — the comet's nucleus — amounts to this: that when Jesus ordained his disciples to baptize the nations into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, he meant to assert (since he did not deny) the co-equality of these three, consequently, the tripersonality of the Godhead; — further, that the Father and the Son being persons, it follows that the Holy Ghost must be personal also, and a person distinct from the other two; — and lastly, that Christ personifies the operation of the Holy Spirit in John xiv., xv., and xvi. This is all; this is the proof that Tripersonality is the doctrine of the New Testament.

Perhaps we ought not to quarrel with the inadequacy of the reasoning, were it only candid. Dr. Huntington has made the most of his material; the fault is in the problem, not in him. The problem of proving that doctrine from the Bible is a desperate one, suggesting "desperate shifts" in those who undertake its solution. These shifts are nothing new. The interpolation of 1 John v. 7 — a memorable circumstance in this connection — proves plainly enough what the old theology sought in the Bible and failed to find there. The interpolation is a signal confession of that failure, a standing witness to the fact that the doctrine of Tripersonality is not the doctrine of the Bible. By no desperate shifts, by no ecclesiastical cross-questioning, by no exegetical torture, can the Bible be made to confess the dogma of the Athanasian God. It is not in the Old Testament, it is not in the New. Those who receive it do so on other authority than that of the sacred canon. Whatever the Church may have been in time past, whatever it may be in this present, it is certain that the Bible is not — in the sense we are discussing — Trinitarian. For those with whom the Bible is, in matters of theology, the supreme court of last appeal, a candid examination of the Scripture will settle the question of the binding authority as an article of faith, if not of the abstract truth, of the doctrine.

A word or two further on some points of this discourse.

Dr. Huntington insists, with reiterated emphasis, on the fact of the wide, and, as he supposes, almost universal reception of this doctrine. We do not deny, that, taking into view the entire

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period of the Christian Church, a great majority of Christians have been nominal receivers of the "Trinitarian" creed; that is, have belonged to churches in which the Tripersonality was an article of faith, and have seemingly acquiesced in the symbol. How many of this vast multitude have thought sufficiently about it to be called believers in any proper sense, and, of those few who have really exercised their minds upon it, how many have heartily embraced it, we can never know. The preacher pleases himself with a fancy sketch of worshipping assemblies the Christian world over, who, with whatsoever differences of circumstance and place, shall unite in ascriptions of praise to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, — ascriptions, by the way, in which most Unitarians would heartily join. And hence he would have us infer that all these believe in the Tripersonality; for he adds as it were a definition of the Three, "the one ever-living and almighty God of all the earth." We fancy that scarcely one in the thousand of all these worshippers ever troubles his brain with the dogma of Tripersonality. They who do so most likely dismiss it presently as something which the doctors must settle for themselves, but which they for their part can make nothing of. If this be claimed as faith in the Athanasian Trinity, we cheerfully concede whatever of corroboration the ecclesiastical dogma may draw from that fact. "It is this truth," says the preacher, "which has kept its vigils by the weary processions of sufferers, and consoled them." We cannot of course disprove the truth of this assertion regarding a matter of which Omniscience alone can know. But we vainly attempt to figure to ourselves the husband bereft of the wife of his youth, the mother at the grave of her first-born, the orphaned child, turning for support and consolation, not to the blessed declarations of Him who proclaimed himself the "Resurrection and the Life," — "In my Father's house are many mansions," — not to the lofty strain of St. Paul, "For we know that if our earthly tabernacle-house were dissolved," &c.; but — for this is the Trinity which Dr. Huntington advocates — to the comfortable words of the "Athanasian" Creed: "Whoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith. Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish ever-

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lastingly. And the Catholic faith is, that we worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance," &c., — propositions which, whether they be true or false, would seem but imperfectly suited to such straits. The same consolations are not available for all. For one Christian mourner who is comforted by the thought of the Trinity, there are thousands and hundreds of thousands who seek consolation in prayers to the Virgin, and do abundantly find it. But Mariolatry, though not without its æsthetic charm, would poorly comfort us whose "consolation aboundeth by Christ."

We are not insensible to the argument from numbers. Theoretically, we allow it some considerable weight as a general rule of presumptive evidence. But practically, in any given case, we have to modify it by other considerations. Had we lived in the fifteenth century, and been of a critical, inquiring mind, we should probably have had this problem presented to us, — whether to receive or reject the Church doctrine of Transubstantiation. We should have found the argument from numbers and authority almost irresistible. The doctrine clearly prefigured in the Fathers. From the eighth century on, the leading authorities all on that side. And had we then had access to the Scriptures we should there have found — what? No doubtful text, but explicit declarations of our Lord, necessitating, if the doctrine were denied, what might seem to be desperate shifts of figurative interpretation in order to escape the binding conclusion of the sacramental *metabole*. And yet we should then most likely, as now, have found in our own consciousness a countervailing force which would not have suffered us to be of the Catholic Church in that particular.

We respect Catholicity, but when it is urged as a ground of belief, we recall what was said by a Catalonian bishop of the eighth century in answer to Alcuin, who attempted to refute him by appealing to the general consent of the Church. "I believe in a Catholic Church," said Felix, "founded by Christ and diffused through the world, but the Church is sometimes vested in a few individuals." *Aliquando vero ecclesia in exiguis est.*

But what is the extent of Catholicity which after all can be

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fairly claimed for the doctrine in question? Dr. Huntington, confounding ecclesiastical determinations which date from the latter part of the fourth century with the simple baptismal confession of preceding ages, speaks as if the doctrine of three co-equal persons in the Godhead had been from the first the creed of Christendom.* His language is, "a tenet so emphatically and gladly received in *all the ages* and regions of Christendom as almost literally to meet the terms of the test of Vincentius, — 'Believed always, everywhere, and by all.'" Suppose we strike out from the term of ages comprised in this assertion three centuries, or three and a half, to begin with. The truth of history demands this discount, if we speak of a common belief in the co-equality of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. If the general reception of the "Athanasian" Creed be the test, some centuries more must be added to the three. But waiving that, and taking for our limit the authorization † of the doctrine of Consubstantiality as applied both to Son and Spirit, we have the year 380 ‡ as the true date of the institution of the Trinitarian faith, which then became the established and self-styled "Catholic," although by no means the universal, creed of Christendom. The Council of Nicæa, which half a century earlier affirmed the consubstantiality of the Son, had left undetermined the nature of the Spirit; and Gregory Nazianzen, on the very eve of the final settlement, says: "Some of our theologians consider the Holy Spirit to be a certain mode of the Divine agency, others a creature of God, others God

* If Dr. Huntington means to be understood as placing the confession of belief in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which, though not demonstrably of Apostolic institution, is doubtless very ancient, in the same category with the doctrine of a three-person God, and as applying the assertion of belief in the Trinity to that confession, we shall not differ with him regarding the antiquity and universality of the Trinitarian doctrine. But neither, in that case, can we understand the aim of his advocacy. If he allows the name of Trinitarian to all who believe in Father, Son, and Spirit, against whom is he contending? Whom does that definition exclude?

† The authorization was long anterior to the general reception, if, indeed, we can speak of general reception at all in this connection.

‡ Date of the Theodosian edict, followed, in 381, by the Council of Constantinople, where the ecclesiastical sanction was added to the imperial. The character and conduct of this Council would be sufficient of themselves to cast suspicion on the doctrine it affirmed. Gregory Nazianzen, himself a Trinitarian, condemns and repudiates it. It passes for one of the universal Councils, but has no more title to that designation than any local and *ex parte* synod.

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himself. Others say they do not know which of the two opinions they ought to adopt out of reverence for the Holy Scriptures, which have not clearly explained this point." Hilary of Poictiers, one of the foremost men of that century, and second to none in spiritual authority, though leaning strongly to Homoousian views, "held it best to remain fast by the simple Scripture doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, which, as it seemed to him, furnished no materials for exact logical definitions of this doctrine." "Should one ask us," he says, "what is the Holy Spirit, and we knew of nothing further to reply than that he exists by and from Him by whom and from whom are all things, — that he is the spirit of God, but also God's gift to believers, — and this answer displeased him, then might the Apostles and Prophets also displease him; for they also affirm only this of him [the Spirit], that he exists." *

Until the accession of Theodosius, "the first of the Emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity," A. D. 380, it was, humanly speaking, an "even chance" whether Christendom would be Trinitarian or Evangelical in its pneumatology. Nay, even the Christology, even the consubstantiality of the Son, affirmed by the Council of Nicæa, was still debated with incalculable issue. For fifty years the tongue of the balance wagged uncertain; now this scale dipped, now that. The imperial soldier threw his sword into the Homoousian, and — the Catholic Church was born.

"It is our pleasure that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter [!] to the Romans..... According to the discipline of the Apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of *Catholic* Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the impious name of Heretics; and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."

* Quoted from Neander.

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The penalties followed in the course of a few weeks. A military inquisition was established, the clergy who refused to accept the creed thus ordained were expelled from their churches, and a fine, equivalent to two thousand dollars, was imposed on every one who should "dare to confer, or receive, or promote an heretical ordination."

Christians are wont to charge the Moslem with having established his religion by force. If ever religion in this world was established by force, it was the Trinitarian faith. The Roman *fiat* was the judge that ended the strife where Greek wit and reason failed. Providentially, as we can see, for the education of the human race for whom it furnished, if not "a guide to everlasting life," a substantial mystery for the exercise of awe and wonder, through the "gloomy vale" of the Middle Age. Providentially, but not therefore decisive of the absolute truth.

Gibbon seems to insinuate that the action or decision of Theodosius was the product of external and accidental motives. "Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the Empress Flaccilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband; and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by an argument adapted to the rudest capacity." The argument was the well-known trick of the Bishop of Iconium. The Emperor and his son were seated on a throne. The wily ecclesiastic bowed with profound obeisance to the father, but treated the young prince with the easy familiarity of an equal. The Emperor ordered his arrest for this insult, and received the premeditated answer: "Thus, O Emperor, will the King of heaven punish those who pretend to honor the Father, and refuse to honor equally the Divine Son."

It was far toward the close of the fourth century, then, that the dogma of three co-equal persons in the Godhead became the established creed of Christendom. Near four centuries, and those the first four, — a grave deduction from the "everywhere and always" of the preacher's assertion! Graver than at first it might seem. The numerical amount of the

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testimony of those ages is no true measure of their testimonial importance. And when we say this, we are willing to abandon the fourth century altogether, as being an era of forced conclusions on both sides. Theology was vitiated from the moment the secular power assumed its control. It had ceased to develop itself freely, and the visible Church was no longer a true witness of the faith. We make no account of Arianism in our judgment of this matter. Arianism was not beautiful, and the Arians did many unhandsome things. But certainly the Triunitarian theology had far less reason to boast of its final success than Arianism of its temporary triumphs. The character of the councils that fashioned it, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was mostly such as to justify the strong language of Scaliger: "Eorum concilia fuerunt meræ conspirationes," — "Their councils were mere conspiracies." Socrates, a Trinitarian, pronounced that of Nicæa "a fight in the dark." Gregory, another, had probably that of Constantinople in his mind when he said of synods, "There is contention, there is strife, there the latent wickedness of cruel men is collected together." The first Council at Ephesus was a mixed mob of "Orthodox" ecclesiastics and sailors, bent on violence, and headed by the infamous and furious Cyril. The second at Ephesus, where the "fathers" were compelled by military force to sign blank papers, and where the Bishop of Alexandria beat and killed the Bishop of Constantinople, is known to history as the "Robbers' Council."* Really, when in the retrospect of history we assist at the rearing of the sin-polluted structure of the Trinitarian Catholic faith, concerning which a contemporary Trinitarian (Gregory again) complained that "the kingdom of heaven was converted by discord into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, of hell itself," — and which caused a contemporary pagan historian to say that "the enmity of Christians toward each other surpassed the fury of savage beasts against

* For the honor of humanity it ought to be stated that the acts of this Council were annulled, and its authority disallowed, by that of Chalcedon, 451. The latter is an honorable exception to the general statement above, — a true Œcumenical Council. The decision of that Council respecting the nature of Christ is still the highest authority in the Christian Church on that subject, the true "Orthodox" doctrine concerning Christ.

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man," — we not only conceive a hearty disgust to ecclesiastical Trinitarianism, but find even more to respect in the prominent Paganism than in most of the prominent Christianity of that age; and so far from wondering that the Emperor Julian abandoned the faith in which he was educated, our wonder is rather that his example was not more extensively followed. So far as we can judge at this distance of time, the balance of the virtues was not on the Christian side. Baron Bunsen, who is no Unitarian, — who justly condemns the Unitarianism of the eighteenth century as "modern Deism taking Christ for a model," — after stating "for the honor of truth" that the Trinitarian decision was a "logical contradiction," thus characterizes the ecclesiastical formation of that doctrine: "The Church history of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries resolves itself into two tragedies. In the fourth century one party among the clergy appeared to negative the problem, and the other solved it illogically and unhistorically. The latter view having triumphed by a persecuting and often unscrupulous majority, the victorious hierarchical party canonized, in the course of the two next blood-stained centuries, the confession of its intellectual bankruptcy into a confession of faith, and made submission to it the condition of churchmanship and the badge of eternal salvation."

Taking, then, the first three centuries only, which are not Trinitarian in the sense of this discourse, as witnesses of the truth of Christianity on this subject, we say that the authority of that testimony far exceeds its numerical amount. Those centuries outweigh in importance all the centuries that followed to the time of the Reformation, — perhaps we may add, all the centuries since. Not merely because they were chronologically nearer to the source of truth, but because in them theology developed itself freely without interference of the secular power, and without the bias of ecclesiastical prestige. When once the Catholic Church was established, and became supreme authority in matters of faith, there was forthwith an end to all independent judgment, and to all free inquiry on points already decided by that Church. Weak men were deterred by personal fear, and good men were prevented by scruples of conscience, from questioning her decisions.

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The theologians of the Middle Age, wise and profound and holy as many of them were, are not independent witnesses on this point.* We cannot admit their testimony as to the previous question, but only as to the *rationale* of the "mystery." They received the doctrines which the Church delivered, and interpreted them and rationalized them as well as they could within the limits of the Church confession. And some of them — indeed all the foremost of them, Anselm, Abelard, Hugo à St. Victoire, Alexander Hales, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lull, Thomas Aquinas — explained the Trinity in such a way — they distilled and refined it to such a degree — as to leave very little that modern Orthodoxy would be willing to accept as satisfactory statement. They retained the letter indeed, but the hard, dogmatic element of it was disengaged in their alembic, and instead thereof a something was evolved, a philosophic residuum was deposited, as harmless as it was specious, and as unevangelical as it was profound, — a fancy Trinity which none would dispute and few would understand, and in which still fewer would recognize the Scriptural Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In this they followed the lead of St. Augustine, their great predecessor, who, in his treatise *De Trinitate*, after threading his labyrinthine way through fourteen books of exquisite subtilties in search of a proposition which shall satisfy reason, and justify dogma, and reconcile philosophy, which he loved so well, with religion which he loved more, arrives, in the fifteenth, at this conclusion, that the Divine Trinity consists in Wisdom, Self-conscioùsness, and Self-love.† Infinite Wisdom is the Father, his Self-consciousness the Son, his Self-love the Holy Spirit. God, the absolute Being, in the act of self-consciousness becomes two, — Being and Knowing. In the love with which he perpetually seeks himself — i. e. wills the good — he becomes three. But this love is also the union of the first and second; in it the three are one. Thanks to the glorious Father for suggesting a transcendental solution, which, though it does not touch the evangelical right

* Neither, for the same reason, was St. Augustine, the last writer of importance on this subject before the fall of the Western Empire.

† "Trinitas sapientia scilicet, et notitia sui et dilectio sui"

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of the dogma, reveals in it or imports into it a philosophic idea.

In the swelling catalogue which Dr. Huntington recites, of names addicted to the Trinitarian creed,* we find but one writer prior to the fifth century. And he is the only real authority in this matter, of those here named, because the only independent witness. That writer is Athanasius, the "pillar and ground" of the doctrine. A great and venerable name! We regard the man with immense admiration. So far as the authority of an individual can avail in such matters, that of Athanasius must be allowed. Still it is but a fallible individual that testifies, with no better means of knowing than ourselves. The rest of Dr. Huntington's vouchers are representatives of foregone conclusions, heirs to a dogma not to be questioned, but defended and explained, — most of them Churchmen sacramented to the service of ecclesiastical establishments based on the Tripersonality. Some of them never thoroughly investigated it; others, like Bishop Taylor, rather tolerated than embraced it. We press this imposing cloud of witnesses, and it yields but one drop, after all, of valid testimony, — the single Athanasius. Names more to the purpose might have been found. One secular philosopher, like Leibnitz or Lessing, who might both have been cited in this connection, would outweigh, in point of independent testimony, the whole brood of ecclesiastics. Protestantism, it is true, like Romanism, has been mostly "Trinitarian." The schism was not a dogmatic one;† the Church split on rite and discipline, not on questions of theology; and where ordinance and polity were not concerned, the old authority still pressed. But Protestantism, since the sixteenth century, has been growing continually less Trinitarian, and exhibits already a powerful array of genius and learning opposed to the Athanasian faith.‡

* See foot-note to p. 361.

† "It must strike every one as strange," says Baur, in his History of the Doctrine of the Trinity, "that, in the period beginning with the Reformation, the dogma of the Trinity was made so little the subject of independent theological investigation." — *Einleitung*, p. 106.

‡ A faith which lacks the testimony of Milton, Newton, Locke, to say nothing of the hosts of minor and later celebrities which might be named, will do wisely

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We have thus exposed the fallacy of Dr. Huntington's appeal to numbers, by showing that, for want of the important and decisive testimony of the first three centuries, the rest is vitiated and essentially neutralized. The first three centuries were not Trinitarian in the sense of this discourse. We do not mean to assert that no form or kind of Trinitarianism appears in them. In the Alexandrian school, through the influence and with partial adoption of Pagan, that is of Platonic ideas, there developed itself in opposition to, or parallel with, the Monarchianism which prevailed in the West, a species of Trinity, which, so far, however, from answering to the modern Trinitarian dogma of the co-equality of three persons in the Godhead, is known as the system of "Subordination," maintaining as it did, with rigorous discrimination, the inferiority of the Son to the Father, and that of the Spirit to the Son. Origen, the chief representative of this "Subordination System" in the East, proves the subjection of the Son to the Father, and his dependence on the Father, from the idea of God as the one absolute principle. "So surely as the only uncreated First Cause is above all that he has made, — the principle of Truth above the Truth, the principle of Light above the Light, the Original above the image, — so surely the Son can be conceived only as inferior to the Father." * "The all-connecting God and Father acts upon each individual thing, imparting to each, as absolute Being, out of his own, their individual being. Less than the Father is the Son, whose action extends only to rational beings; still less than the Son is the Holy Spirit, whose action is confined to the saints." †

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to say little of its allies this side of the Reformation, and had better confine its appeal to ante-Protestant times. Dr. Huntington affirms that "the ascendant school of philosophical thought to-day is unequivocally Trinitarian" The grave audacity of this statement is too comical for serious discussion. In any other connection we could view it only as a piece of pleasantry. A certain Pope was anxious to carry a point in his Council of State. The ballot was thrown, the vote was decidedly adverse. "Gentlemen," said his Holiness, "it is very desirable that the vote for this project should be unanimous," — and, taking his skull-cap from his head, and covering with it the negatives, "It is unanimous."

Trinitarian indeed! We wish we could say it was even Christian.

* Baur, *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, &c., Vol. I. p. 197.

† Ibid.

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The subordination of the Son to the Father, and the Spirit to the Son, is expressed with equal distinctness by Tertullian, who, together with Cyprian and Novatian, represented this system in the West. Tertullian, early in the third century, was the first who made use in this connection of the word *Trinitas*, translating and enlarging the Greek *Τριάς*. "The Church," he says, "is properly and principally that Holy Spirit itself, in which is a *trinity* of one divinity."* And this perhaps is the nearest approach in the way of phraseology to the later Triunitarian idea, although the word Divinity has not precisely the import here which our modern associations connect with it. Tertullian does not mean to say that the Church is level with God, but that, by the Holy Spirit which is in it, it is made, together with Christ, partaker of the Divine nature. It appears, however, that even this imperfect development of the Trinitarian doctrine encountered then, as the finished dogma has since, the charge of tritheism, and that the majority of Christians opposed it on that ground. We find Tertullian complaining that the greater portion of believers in his day were afraid of this economical triplicity (*expavescunt ad œconomiam*). "They say that we preach two and three Gods, while they worship only one."† This Subordination theory formed the transition from the Unitarianism‡ of the first and second centuries to the fully developed Trinitarianism of the fourth.

* "Nam et ecclesia proprie et principaliter ipse est Spiritus, in quo est trinitas unius divinitatis." Hagenbach, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Dritte Auflage, pp. 98, 99.

† We must, therefore, demur to such statements as that of Neander, that "the economical and practical doctrine of the Trinity constituted from the first the fundamental consciousness of the Catholic Church," as likely to mislead, though not demonstrably false. The belief in one God, the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, was the general confession of the Church, so far as we know, in the first century. And this is all that can be affirmed. There was no idea of Trinity here; the fact of the threeness was no part of the "Catholic consciousness;"—and when the attempt was made to define this confession, to emphasize the numerical element in it, and to shape it into a speculative system, the "Catholic consciousness" resisted the movement. Neander, with other historians of the Church, confounds sometimes the Catholic consciousness with the opinions of prominent individuals.

‡ Of which there were two kinds, Humanitarianism, represented by the Ebionites, and afterward by the Artemonites, and the belief in the supreme deity of Christ, whose confessors were known by the name of Patripassians.

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If Dr. Huntington's Scriptural argument is, as we have shown, preposterously inadequate, and his plea of popularity a fallacy, what shall we say of his metaphysical speculations and attempted philosophic illustrations of his theme? We can see in them only an unconscious confession of "intellectual bankruptcy," and a melancholy proof of mistaken vocation. We have room but for one or two examples in this kind.

In a style sufficiently imposing, and reminding one of some Gnostic theogony, he thus propounds his fundamental theses: "In the transcendent, removed, and awful depth of his Absolute Infinitude, which no understanding can pierce, the Everlasting and Almighty God lives in an existence of which our only possible knowledge is gained by lights thrown back from revelation." Pausing here for a moment, we ask, Is not this one everlasting and true God of whom the preacher speaks the same with him whom our Lord named Father, and whom we are taught to call our Father in Heaven? This we had supposed to be the common belief of Christians, but Dr. Huntington preaches another Gospel. "Out of that ineffable and veiled Godhead, — the groundwork, if we may say so, of all Divine manifestation or theophany, — there emerge to us in revelation the three whom we rightly call persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with their several individual offices, mutual relations, operations towards men, and perfect unity together." The Father then is not the Everlasting and Almighty God, but a second term, an impersonation, a proceeding from God. Father, Son, and Spirit are persons; the Almighty God is not a person, but an impersonal "groundwork," from which the Father emerges, just as the Hindoo trinity has a Being behind it, — the Brahma, a Brahm. In effect, we have here, instead of a Trinity, a Quaternity; — 1. the Almighty God; 2. the Father; 3. the Son; 4. the Holy Ghost. But, the preacher may say, the three last-named constitute together the first. Then why not put it so? According to the language we have cited, it is the one that makes three, instead of the three making one. Why talk of the "groundwork" at all, especially since he immediately adds, "We know of no priority to that Threeness, of no Deity independent of that three-

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fold distinction." Observe the contradiction; he first speaks of the Almighty God as existing behind the "Threeness," — the groundwork thereof, — and then declares, that we know of no such Being; he speaks of "an existence of which our only possible knowledge is gained by lights thrown back from revelation," and then denies that any such existence is revealed, or is even conceivable. "We conceive of God always, not as Absolute Being, but as in relations, in process, in act. And in such relations, process, act, we behold him only as Three." In short, Dr. Huntington distinguishes between the Father and the absolute God, and, in vindication of this distinction, obscurely suggests* that "human language could not so well represent these infinite realities as by using the same term 'Father' sometimes [!] for the absolute Godhead and sometimes for that relative paternal Person in the Godhead brought to view only when the Son and the Spirit appear." Unless we have read the New Testament our life long in vain, the term "Father" is *always* used for the absolute Godhead, and no other "Father" and no other absolute Godhead is recognized or intimated from Matthew to Revelation. St. Paul says, "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." "Howbeit," he continues, — one could almost fancy, with prophetic allusion to the Plummer Professor, — "there is not in every man that knowledge." We do not say that this distinction between God and the Father is altogether new; but we do say, that this is not the Catholic and Orthodox idea of the Trinity. According to that idea, the "Father" is identical with the absolute Godhead, is simply a name for that Godhead. The Son is generated from the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; but the Father at least is ultimate and absolute. This is the idea of the New Testament, and the one which especially pervades every page of the Gospel of John.

A curious instance of the author's confusion of mind, and want of logical as well as critical discrimination, occurs on page 367, where he rashly undertakes to comment on the

* Page 371, near the bottom.

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daring and sublime prophecy of Paul to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. xv. 24–28,) in which the Apostle predicts the final cessation of the Mediator's office and the Son's divine reign; — the passage of all others in the New Testament least favorable to Dr. Huntington's views, but which he endeavors to pervert to his own use by "private interpretation," and bungles deplorably in so doing. "At last, when all the purposes of the propitiation are accomplished, — in that dim, far-off, well-nigh inconceivable future, ... this incarnate 'Head over all things to the Church' will render up the kingdom to the Father, and *resume* his place in the co-equal Three, the indivisible One." Resume his place! So then at present, and until that "far-off, well-nigh inconceivable future," the Son has no place in the co-equal Three. Who occupies it meanwhile? Or is the second Person in abeyance? Commentators have inferred from this passage a final cessation of the Trinity; Dr. Huntington would seem to infer a postponement of it until the end. We should really like to know, for curiosity's sake, what the author had in his mind when he penned these words; we confess our own "intellectual bankruptcy" here. Paul declares, in the most unmistakable terms, that a time will come when Christ, having put all things under his feet, shall no longer reign, but shall "himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." Dr. Huntington calls this a resuming of his place in the "co-equal Three;" that is, he shall continue to reign, and not "be subject." As Macaulay said of one of Basil Montagu's proofs of the innocence of Lord Bacon, "We know no way of answering such arguments except by stating them."* We are reminded, by this attempt to make white black, of the work of one Meyer, written to prove the doctrine of the Trinity from the Old Testament alone.† The text on which he principally relies as being, on the whole, "the most clear and conclusive," is Deut. vi. 4, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord."

"It would seem to require some audacity" to handle Paul in such a fashion, yet not, perhaps, more than was needed to

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* We quote from memory, and are not sure of the precise words.

† De Mysterio S. S. Trinitatis ex solius Veteris Testamenti Libris demonstrato.

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enunciate the following sentence, in which the author browbeats simple folk for using words in the only sense in which they are capable of being understood: "What shall be said of the mental proportions of men who persist in the dull fallacy of imputing to believers in the Trinity of God, who is a Spirit, the notion of an arithmetic relation?"* &c. Does Dr. Huntington imagine that, by mere dint of sovereign scorn, he can empty words of their obvious and only possible meaning? If Trinity or Threeness, a noun of number, does not express an arithmetic relation, what in the name of reason and of language does it express? and why make use of the term? Justin Martyr, who used to be regarded as authority in these matters, and whose "mental proportions" would perhaps compare not unfavorably with those of the author of this discourse, expressly declares that the Father and the Word are not merely logically, but arithmetically, distinct, not γνώμῃ, but ἀριθμῷ.

The word "Person" too, it seems, does not mean person in this connection,† but something quite different from what is usually understood by that term. One is driven to ask, Why write a long sermon on a subject in relation to which the principal terms employed are professedly discharged of their ordinary import, and become words of unknown signification?

The fact is, the metaphysic of the doctrine was always a delicate and sore point with its advocates. Although, in its present form, a genuine product of rationalism, — a pure creation of the understanding, — yet the moment the understanding offers to approach it, however reverently, with however sincere a desire to appropriate its import, it is warned off the ground as incompetent or dangerous. Candid in-

* And yet, with the strangest self-contradiction, the author subjoins in a note to this very passage (p. 379), that it will be made to appear "that it is three, not less and not more, which, in the nature of *numbers* and of forms, admits the greatest *relative* combination of simplicity and variety, and especially meets the abstract conditions of the ontological problem." Our venerated teacher in theology, when one of the youths of the class discoursed in this style, would inquire, with a dubious shake of the head: "Are you *quite* sure, Mr. ——, that you know what you are talking about?"

† See note to p. 375.

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quirers, who would fain know what they believe, are treated with dissolving views, as children tease one another with the partial showing of some treasure not suffered to be fairly seen. The doctrine is presented as an article of faith; and when we attempt to lay hold of it with honest apprehension, it is snatched away or turned about in such a manner as to baffle scrutiny. We begin to consider the numerical aspect, and immediately it is withdrawn; we examine the Persons, and they disappear; if we would rest in the One, the Three is thrust forward; if we would analyze the Three, the One is returned upon us. "It is a mystery," we are told. "You are to believe in it, but must not look it in the face." When Roscellinus, writing in the interest and defence of the Trinity, endeavored to explain it with his "one Substance and three Things," the explanation was condemned as heresy and tritheism, and the author compelled to flee his country. The precise line of demarcation between a modality and a person — the line which separates Sabellianism from Tritheism — has never been defined; and every statement of it verges to the one or the other of these extremes. The coyness of theology on this subject derives some excuse from the fact that all attempts to seize the details of it lead to absurdities. Its ablest expounders have been guilty of such. Even Anselm, one of the wisest of theologians and of men, is betrayed into shocking platitudes and the grossest anthropomorphism. In attempting to show * why the Son rather than any other person of the Godhead should have become man, he argues that, if one of the others had assumed this condition, there would have been two sons in the Godhead, the son of Mary and the Son of God. And again, "If the Father had become man, there would have been two *grandsons* in the Trinity; the Father would have been the grandson of the parents of the Virgin, by his assumed humanity; and the *Word*, although in that case it would have had nothing human in it, would yet have been the grandson of the Virgin, because he would have been the son of her son." †

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* In the *Cur Deus Homo?*

† German translation, (Erlangen, 1834,) p. 75.

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Singularly unfortunate is Dr. Huntington, and unhistorical, in his position that the doctrine of the Trinity is the great safeguard against pantheism on the one hand and against idolatry on the other.* Nothing is more notorious than the fact that the rise of idolatry in the Christian Church was contemporaneous with, or immediately subsequent to, the Trinitarian determinations of the fourth and fifth centuries. Equally notorious is it that the Trinitarian faiths, as, for instance, the Hindu, have been most pantheistic, and that, on the other hand, the one religion in the world which has been through all its periods and in all nations entirely free from idolatry is strictly Unitarian, — the religion of Islam.

But we pass to a matter of graver import. We ventured to assert, in our opening remarks on this discourse, that its author did not understand the doctrinal bearings of the dogma he has undertaken to defend. With an evident desire to be orthodox in his theology, he is not orthodox according to any standard known to us, certainly not according to any standard of the Catholic Church. He attempts to join what the Church has put asunder, and professes what the Church has condemned. The proof of this assertion is found in his application of the doctrine of the Trinity to that of the Atonement.† In his exposition of the latter doctrine, he makes the idea of a *suffering God* an essential and pivotal point. Now the truth is, this idea, so far from being a constituent element in the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, as applied to the Atonement, is even — as the preacher would have known, had he fathomed the meaning of the doctrine, or studied its historic development — incompatible with and antagonistic to it. He infers that Deity suffered together with humanity in Christ, from the nature of the union between the two. "But the union of the two natures was real, organic, — not apparent only, not dramatic, nor mechanical; so that when the Saviour suffered, God suffered." (p. 390.) Now it belongs to the very essence of the Trinitarian creed, — that is, to its doctrine concerning Christ, — that the union of God and man in the person of the Redeemer was not a *fusion* of the two

* See pp. 381, 382.

† See pp. 386 *et seq.* to 395.

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natures into one *nature*,* but a co-ordination and conjugation of the two in one *person*. The person is one, the natures are two. Christ is not — if we may use such language without irreverence — a cross between Deity and humanity, but perfect God and perfect man. So it was decided in the final decision of the nature of the union, at the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), which, after the New Testament, is still, to this day, the highest authority in the Church on this subject. Dr. Huntington may call this a "dramatic union," and flout it as such; nevertheless it *is* the union established by the Church, whose language is: "The difference between the two natures not being destroyed by the union, but rather, the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one hypostasis." † If Dr. Huntington rejects the authority of this statement, then he rejects the authority of the Church on this subject. Then he sets up his own opinion, which others indeed may share with him, but which has no authority, against that of the Church. This he has certainly a right to do on Protestant ground, but then he must not appeal to authority.

This statement, it will be seen, precludes the notion that Deity suffered in the supreme Passion. But to leave no doubt on the subject, the same Council which decided the nature of the hypostatic union condemned specifically and by name this very doctrine of a suffering God. It was a part of the Eutychian or Monophysite heresy. In fact, the Trinitarian doctrine owes its development in part to the protest of the Christian consciousness against this idea, which seemed to be a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the Monarchians, ‡ and which gave them the *soubriquet* of Patripassians.

Dr. Huntington then is not orthodox in his view of the nature of Christ and the Atonement. We intend no reproach by this assertion, but we think it important for the right appre-

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* Even the so-called Athanasian Creed explains the union to be "not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person."

† Οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης.

‡ "Ipsum Patrem passum esse." — Tertull. adv. Praxeam.

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hension of orthodoxy and the honor of the Church universal, to point out the fact, to define his position in this regard. His doctrine of Christ and the Atonement is not the orthodox doctrine, but one which he sets up for himself on his own responsibility. He is a Eutychian. We do not condemn him in this, we only define him. We condemn no man for any opinion he sincerely holds. But we do condemn the opinion itself as a monstrous invention; we condemn it as a base travesty of the orthodox theory of the Atonement;* we condemn it as, next to "Transubstantiation," the most revolting that was ever propounded within the sphere of the Christian Church. And we charge Dr. Huntington with gross inconsistency in repudiating with such emphasis the idea of a dying God, while advocating that of a suffering one. "God did not perish: how strange and sad that the thoughtless perversions or wilful misrepresentations of hostile theologians should have made such a statement necessary." † The indignant sorrow expressed in these words strikes us, we must say, as quite out of place. The word *perish* means to pass away, to pass out of sight. No one ever used it, as applied to God, in any other sense than that of the putting off of the visible form. And that is precisely what did take place. Surely he who cannot find in the radical idea of Divinity the impossibility of suffering, need never boggle at the word *perish*.

We have touched but few of the errors, as we deem them, of this unfortunate discourse, but have shown enough of error in it to make good our allegation of the inconclusiveness of most of its reasoning, and its misapprehension of the import and bearings of the dogma it defends. The task has not been a pleasant one, but seemed to be due to the cause of that truth to which by profession and name the Christian Examiner is pledged. We regret the publication of the sermon; it mars the volume that contains it, and does equal injustice to its author and the cause he advocates. No one can estimate that

* The orthodox theory of the Atonement is the production of St. Anselm, who knows nothing of a suffering God, and indeed lays no stress on *suffering* at all as an element in the Reconciliation.

† Page 390.

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author's real ability more highly than ourselves. But Dr. Huntington is no theologian. His confession might have weight, his reasons have none. If he felt himself impelled by stringent conviction to embrace, and with public confession to espouse the Athanasian faith, and, contenting himself with simple avowal, had assumed that position, none would have blamed and many would have praised. But in undertaking to expound that faith he has done it a cruel injury, inasmuch as one imprudent and incompetent defender is more injurious than many adversaries. Should he live some ten years longer in the world, — we are sure they will be useful and honorable years, — and continue to grow and seek to inform himself of the matter handled in this discourse, he will also regret its publication and wish to recall it. He will see more plainly than we can point them out its inadequacy and its errors. He will see also that the old doctrine whose new revelation makes him glad and whose new wine inflames him, in whatsoever sense it is true at all, is not the whole truth, and is not the negation, but the complement, of that against which he arrays it. There is a great deal more in it than he now sees, and what is best and deepest in it he does not see, if one may judge his vision by his word.

We shall have failed to make ourselves understood, and shall deem ourselves unfortunate, if in these criticisms we have seemed to impugn the Christian doctrine embodied in the "Trinity." It is only the forced construction of that doctrine in the Constantinopolitan Creed, and the claim that any construction of it, by any council or creed, is of evangelical and binding authority, against which we protest. The belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit embraces and œcumenizes Christendom in one confession. The dogma of Tripersonality confuses and divides. The confession is common, the interpretation of it must be left to the individual mind and heart. We would not be supposed to think lightly of its import. To us it is the sum and summit of Christian truth. We see in it that which specifically distinguishes our religion from all antecedent and contemporary faiths, exactly defining it against polytheism on the one hand and Hebrew and Arabian monotheism on the other; evangelically dividing it from Per-

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sian dualism on this side and Hindu tritheism on that. We see in it the sublimest and completest theory of God. A God whose nature is neither diffracted by multiplicity nor yet concluded in singularity, who is neither the unconscious All of Pantheism, nor the insulated Self of Judaism; a God whose essence is not to be sought in lone seclusion, but in everlasting self-communication, whose being is a unit and yet a process, — a process of which the two associated names — the Son and the Holy Ghost — are the august terms and the perfect method; a God who allies himself with finite intelligence by the co-eternal, mediating Word, and reflects himself in human nature and enchurches himself in human society by the ever proceeding, sanctifying Spirit. So believing, we also join in the reverent and dear ascription, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end! Amen."

Art. VII. — THE HEART OF THE ANDES.

1. *A Companion to the Heart of the Andes.* By Theodore Winthrop. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.
2. *Church's Painting. The Heart of the Andes.* By Rev. Louis L. Noble. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

The last painting of Mr. Church has been visited by thousands, and obtained an enviable reputation. It is a rare contribution to American art, and has won a Transatlantic fame. Desirable as it is to have one of the finest pictures of this age, and especially of this country, thus admired and appreciated, it is equally desirable, for obvious reasons, whilst the admiration is generous and enthusiastic, that the appreciation should be intelligent and discriminating. Therefore we are led to attempt a review of "The Heart of the Andes," the appropriateness of its title,* and the correctness of some of the statements in the pamphlets named above.

* Not the mere *verbal* title, — let us say, to avoid misconception, at the outset, — to object to which would be petty hypercriticism, but the title in the signification claimed for it as a representative name expressive of the assumed character of the picture.

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In the first of these pamphlets, (to quote in the briefest terms the special and high claims urged in behalf of the painting which are to be examined and tested,) it is asserted that "in the Heart of the Andes Mr. Church has condensed the condensation of nature. It is not an actual scene, but the subtile essence of many scenes, combined into a typical picture." And the author has gone so far in the putting forth and the justification of this assertion, — probably excited more by a quick artistic sensibility and imagination, working upon his own memories of the wonders of the Andean tropics, than by what he could actually have seen in the picture, — and has so emblazoned and glorified with iridescent suggestions each of his ten divisions of the subject, in his still graphic descriptions, that their strict application becomes, if not of doubtful fitness, at any rate very difficult. We say, "his still graphic descriptions;" because the picture, in the sum and variety of its parts, presents certain characters of pictorial development and effect, which, as a whole, constitute almost a new kind of excellence in art, — the excellence of seeming to be, not art at all, but Nature "in her best."

It is doubtless well to know at the outset if the title of a work be honest; but to the right understanding of its fitness or unfitness, it is not a serious objection that we must first learn the matter to which it is affixed. Entering upon this inquiry in the present case, it is necessary only to premise, that "The Heart of the Andes" is a picture, of gallery size, painted from original "studies" in the locality of the chosen scene, to portray, not in a literal, but an ideal or typical spirit, the image, and illustrate the characteristics, of the strange, sublime, and surpassing landscape of the Andes and Cordilleras of Ecuador. Taking this as the argument of what assumes to be a painted poem of the epic order, we are instructed to expect in the work, not a mere transcript of any particular, and therefore partial view, accidentally selected, but rather a perfected combination of the grandest mountains, of a range that constitutes the largest and most sublime ornament in all the external sculpture of the globe, in their most characteristic aspects, with the associated forms and features, which shall present an ideal image of a scene that may fitly typify to us the *true* Heart of the Andes?

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To see how this expectation is met, let us endeavor to fancy the effect of some of the more important facts and peculiarities about this wonderful scenery, which may be known to us without a personal visit to the locality; such as give the height and magnitude of the greatest mountains, and their leading geological and phenomenal traits, with other related matter that may be needful to make the picture complete. Referring first to the "snow dome" in the Andes, La Sorata attains an elevation of 25,000 feet, while other more or less contiguous peaks rise from 16,000 to 24,000 feet. This, since the limit line of vegetation never reaches higher than 14,000 feet upon the highest mountains, gives full two perpendicular miles of eternal snow! Then, as the summits of such enormous masses seldom rise from their higher plateaus at an average pitch of more than about twenty degrees, the circuit at the base of the loftiest snow cone would be at least 75,000 feet! Just suppose the vertical section of such a cone to have its outline cleared of its natural breaks and irregularities, so as to form a high pointed arch, of four centred curves; it would then, in its new shape, present the appearance of a Moorish dome, more than fifteen miles in circumference and two miles perpendicular, or nearly four miles of sloping height, sheathed completely in immaculate whiteness of silver or pearl. Now, to obtain a right idea of a possible aspect of these highest mountains, we may imagine a point of view as nearly corresponding as practicable to that indicated by the painting, which would be on the border of one of the great valleys or table-lands, 6,000 feet high, resting against the central chain, and between the three Cordillera ranges. The view would then comprise, first, in the largest divisions, wide Llanos and Montañas, then portions of one or more of the secondary chains, reaching from ten to, say, thirty miles away, and beyond, extending the bounds of the scene to sixty miles or more, would rise the colossal cluster and multiform mass of the highest Andes. Imperial Sorata, grouped with other eminent members of the family, Cayambe, Antisana, and Chimborazo perhaps, once deemed worthy of the crown.

This is no exaggeration of the natural scene. But how does it agree with the composition of the artist? To the opposite

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side of the valley does not seem more than three or four miles; to the farthest ridge of the Cordillera, not more than ten or twelve, and the most distant point on the snow mountain itself looks to be scarcely thirty miles away. Then for the cluster of peaks and spreading bulk of the real Andes; there is here only a single high mountain, — with a mere hint of the sharp summit of another; and for the impressive masses and great variety of forms in the inferior ranges, seen in the natural view, we find only the huge rounded bulk of one Cordillera, and the thin dusky shapes of some smaller masses beyond. Thus we perceive that the groundwork or outline of the artist's piece shows a mechanical incapacity to represent the compass, or contain the variety, in the actual subject.

But we must compare the filling up of the two, though only as to the larger features contained in each. Let us begin with the Cordillera, which, as it is painted, is a simple, rounded mass, — an almost lumpy mound, of monotonous structure and color, presenting the general appearance of a hill magnified, rather than an "Alp," which it is in nature. We know the real Cordilleras are marked with many of the very striking features and eccentricities peculiar to such large mountains; such as the sharp, serrated ridges, buttressed here and there by broad ribs, upward writhing in bold lifts and heavy sloping offsets, and dark towards the bases, where spreads the shag of "forest primeval," or light in the spaces of the fire-wasted *paramos;* the gray cones of felspar and aiguille peaks of pillared porphyry or riven granite, — the nakedness of the cold azure or purple forms, partially covered, but not warmed, by the scattered pieces of their unwoven mantles of snow; the "frightful *quebradas*," the mile-deep crevices of Chota and Cutoca, — dank and gloomy between their dripping walls of sandstone, or ghastly with the pallor of shadow-buried quartz; the great ravines, cleft in the steep sides of the mountain, where the wild cataracts leap with frosty flash or fiery gleam, sprinkling the blue depths with misty sheen. Are these things, or the like, to be found in the painting? Is that mere pencil line of pale-blue light drawn on the dark Cordillera, to symbolize all the jocund falls and shivering cascades which fill with mystical light and

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weird sound the real mountain gorges? But, turning now to the lower Andes, the full measure of the mountain genius of this region is not yet expressed. The wonders of its inspiration and power are not easily numbered. Many peculiarities there are, strange, momentous, and grand, quite beyond the demand, as also beyond the capabilities, of a single picture. There is an immense mountain, Caxamura, one side of which is solid quartz, producing an extreme picturesqueness in its general color-effect. Then there is another of yellow mica, — Ucucuamo, the ancient *Dorado*, — which is, of course, more gorgeous. The two contrasted, would be as silver and gold. And somewhere hereabouts dwells, upon the smooth rounded crown of Mount Octopan, the "gaunt, ungainly," but Titanic shape of a natural monument, composed in a triple column of phonolite shafts. Of smaller and less conspicuous features or objects, there are more than we can enumerate, many of them piquant, eccentric, and startling; — overhanging and stupendous cliffs, lofty crags which mimic towers and ruined castles, giant shapes which guard the dangerous windings of the pass and the unknown treasures of the purple glen, — and the picturesque contrasts of rugged and fertile darkness, of woody wall and slope, on the mountain bases, with the delicate lightness and barren brilliancy of the crystalline spires on their summits. As yet the facts recalled have belonged to the lower mountains; and they are trifling in importance, as they are ineffective in comparison with the splendid systems of forms and appearances which are the outward structures and adornments of the highest. The first are, to the latter, as the rude plans and rough carving of the degenerate Aztecs to the first productions of Athenian taste and skill. How could it be otherwise, when, as we know, the Gnomes or the Genii, who raise all these incomprehensible structures, are allowed to finish only the lower portions, — platform, base, and wall, — while the uppermost heights of ridge, tower, and dome are chiselled and touched to their exquisite beauty by the far more subtile artists, wind and cloud, frost and sunshine? And when we reflect upon the symmetrical complexity, or the significant intricacy, and the baffling illusions and apparent evanescence in the loftier por-

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tions of those Titanic works, they seem almost like the magic architecture of some Plutonian Arabian Nights.

It will be observed, we have made no allusion as yet to anything different from the inanimate forms or *materials* of the natural scene, — said no word about its fascinating mysteries of atmosphere, of its gorgeous raiment of color, or its thrilling expressions in the chiaroscuro. For, at present, we are considering only the inherent and peculiar matter of the subject, leaving all the qualities which are comparatively accidental and general. And yet, we may ask, what does the painting show to represent the mere physical facts above named? Or what others, of the many belonging to and characteristic of the region, shall we find in it? Certainly there cannot be many unless their representation is wholly typical, for of imitated objects very few are to be seen.

Again, we have still to recall and add to the above sketch some of the many beautiful or striking features peculiar to the fore and middle grounds, as they may be regarded, — that is, those to be found in the valleys and among the lower hills; such as the hills themselves, mound-shaped and peculiar, sometimes showing, as in the Tacal mount, a basaltic cliff on one side of its apex, at other times running out in bold pointed bluffs; and then the broad level plateaus rising in steps like huge terraces to the mountain bases, or the long benches often cutting across them showing a dark edge of precipice. Next, there are many curious trees, as the wonderful Dracæna Draco, to break the monotony of the vast *montaña*, or to give piquancy to a copse near by, or to balance or animate a foreground group. Then come the singular forms of a luxuriant vegetation, — palm-like shrubbery, if not palms themselves, banana, thalia, and vijao plants, with their leaves two feet in length; also the "tree-fern;" — in short, the whole magnificent flora. We do not forget that the supposed point of view is at too great an elevation to admit the most beautiful and characteristic examples of tropical vegetation, if mere literal truth is the object of the picture, which it is not. But the painting, notwithstanding its great profusion in this kind of material, shows very little which would be generally deemed characteristic in the right sense. Furthermore, in regard to rocks and

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minerals of this region, the picture shows an unaccountable monotony. And, lastly, as to the interesting element in which, as a feature of a landscape, resides perhaps more power generally for varied expression, in its different characters of flowing, leaping, or still water, than in any other, — we know how, from the enormous eastern slopes of that central cluster of the Andes, descend innumerable streamlets, which, uniting, form three great rivers, that, by different courses, flow first over the high and wide table-lands, receiving tributaries from the bordering ranges of the Cordilleras, then through the low pampas to the Atlantic.

One of those rivers is doubtless supposed to be represented or typified in the painting. Which is it? It has not volume enough for the Amazon, nor motion enough for the Orinoco; and yet there seems even too much roughness for the Magdalena. Possibly it is the type of them all, and as in its passages of activity and *tours de force* we are to see the vivacity and daring of the boisterous Orinoco; and in the breadth and stillness of its occasional pauses feel the quiet power of the majestic Amazon; so in the prolonged spaces of silent and calm flowing, where, with its own beauty, it mingles the reflected beauties above and around, we must see the "dreamy haste" and the meandering seductiveness of the gentle Magdalena. But shall we also accept this small and most explosive or passionate cataract, brilliant and beautiful though it be in its prismatic light, to represent the magnificent Tequendama, hundreds of feet in height?

After this survey, we are prepared to question the correctness and propriety of the *title* and *argument* of the painting. For we have carefully compared the materials in its composition with the materials which are most peculiar and characteristic of the actual scene, and do not find a proper and sufficient correspondence between them. In short, the picture does not, in our judgment, appear to contain such matter as fitly represents the facts in its avowed subject, and consequently may not rightly be entitled "The Heart of the Andes." It would be more fitting to call it "A Picture of the Andes and Cordillera, upon the High Table-land of the Tropics." This is all, in our estimation, that the work can justly claim

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in the way of title, on the ground and authority of its own text, so to speak. No longer misled by a name into a search for what is not to be found, and informed of the scope and purpose, with also the limitations, of the work, we may begin to see and enjoy its real character.

The most important matter, perhaps, in a landscape, next to the theme itself, (supposing that to include both subject and the sentiment,) is the strength and quality of the light; — because the kind of illumination, more than the mere forms, determines the character of the effect. The morning, midday, and evening hours have each their variable, but always distinct, kinds of light, which bring out very different effects. All artists recognize this; and, in attempting to render the strongest expression of any peculiar idea or feeling, suggested by the *genius loci*, take great care in their selection of the time of the view. In this Andean scene, the time is about two hours before sunset. The first thought of artists generally would be, we think, that the most appropriate and effective light would be at a moment either soon after sunrise or very near to sunset. And the disappointment which we believe is very generally felt at the first sight of the painting, would seem to be in great part owing to the comparatively tame impression consequent upon so early an hour of the evening. We for our part expected, perhaps thoughtlessly, to find the subject full facing the sun, and glowing in the roseate or golden opaline light which — sometimes one, sometimes the other — characterizes the beginning of the last half-hour of all pleasant days. The effect of such a light, ordinarily, even upon a very commonplace landscape, is exceedingly attractive; and the marked peculiarity about it is the way it intensifies and beautifies the local colors of the foreground, while it seems to lend a jewel-like richness to objects in the middle distance, and covers the remote horizon and sky with a prismatic splendor. Near by, a color — say yellow — is brightened to a flame almost; some space away, it becomes like burnished gold; and far off, it is changed again to yellow flame; but now it is a paler, gentler fire, that blends by insensible degrees with the aerial crimson along the horizon's burning zone, or mingles the sweet amenities of its glow with the colder state of purple and azure in

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mountain, cloud, and sky. But when we reflect upon the heightening and transmuting power of this light, which can make homeliness magnificent, and by which the temperate reds in foreground rock and lichen would be heightened to intense crimson, and the chastened yellows and pale warm browns of tree-boles, and weather or foot-worn banks, changed to glaring orange or scarlet, the wisdom of the artist is sufficiently attested in choosing a quieter and purer kind to display the almost countless attractions of a scene, in which the naturally vivid colors of many of the nearer objects — some of them not the most important, nor requiring to be conspicuous — would, in that other light, be made to burn and flare in a way quite dangerous to the general serenity of effect. In a scene of great extent, violent or intense color, even in the nearest foreground, would necessarily be excluded, as interfering too much with what should be the main purpose in the picture; namely, to develop to the fullest extent the beauty (which is the tenderness) of its most distant tones and hues, and to produce the illusion of its natural spaciousness. And these two qualities were evidently among the principal ends sought to be attained in Mr. Church's painting.

But while the artist is to be fully justified, and even commended, in his choice of a common white light (a little warmed), rather than a peculiar colored light, we may all the more criticise any short-comings in the effects it was intended to favor. Look at the darkened mountain, whose broad bulk nearly fills up the background, and carries its top out of sight among the clouds at the upper edge of the picture; does it answer rightly to the size and distance predicated by the linear perspective and other apparent natural conditions attending it? In our hearing, the great pyramid of Adams and Madison from Randolph Hill, supposed to be viewed under a similar effect, has been compared to this Cordillera, and the opinion expressed that the former — really no more than about one fifth of the magnitude of the latter, the distances being in a like proportion — was yet, to remembrance, the most grand and impressive in effect. This may be correct without any positive disparagement to the Cordillera; because, in the general purpose of the picture, the mountain, notwithstanding the large

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space it occupies, is regarded and treated as a subordinate object, while in the case of the White Mountains they constitute the whole subject, suffering nothing by comparison. Still the rendering of this important, though secondary object, is not quite successful, in, at least, two respects. First, the upper portions, without being too dark, are yet made to appear nearer than is consistent, by the lack of evenness in the darkness, and of ethereality, that is, delicacy, in its hues; and secondly, although the drawing of its forms manifests an elaborate conformity in the stratification, extending to monotony in fact, there seems to be wanting more definite expression or decided emphasis of the continuity in the upward tendencies of those zigzag and serpentine lines of rolling rib and slanting ridge, which we know are almost universally the visible effects of the peculiar formation of all gigantic upheavals; though this last objection may have very little to do one way or the other with the effect of space. Furthermore, the intended, proper subordination of the Cordillera to the Andes is, in our view, rather opposed than assisted by covering it so wholly with shadow, — as, by the extreme breadth and largeness of its darkness, it is made the more conspicuous. And the high mountain, so crowded into the small angular space of the distance, and especially the "snow dome," in the full blaze of the sun, to whose splendor the shadow of the lower mountain was to be the foil, seem dwarfed from the true proportions of the sublime.

Leaving those high places for the hardly more inaccessible regions of the sky, we may look for other proofs of Mr. Church's skill in the choice and rendering of the clouds, which, by their quantity and positions, must be of considerable consequence in the general impression, in respect to spaciousness as well as of beauty in the color-harmonies. They are of two sorts only, cumulo-stratus, covering and in part concealing the Cordillera summits, and the high cirrus, breaking with a few white flashes the too great quiet, perhaps, of the clear sky. One important object attained by their introduction is, that by the straight horizontal lines in the long swarthy rolls of the first, and the narrow white ripples of the second, a valuable contrast is supplied to the many curved, irregular, and

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slanting forms in the mountains and other large masses, and thereby a proper balance and steadiness are given to the whole scene. Another service was doubtless designed, especially from the lower clouds; namely, by their perspective relations to aid the effect of height in the mountains, particularly the more distant. But to have gained the utmost advantage from them, as it strikes us, one or two thin waves of the cumuli ought to be seen crossing the lowest visible ridges and aiguilles which buttress the central mountain; instead of the large wreaths which now fill the small passes of the lower sky on either flank of the "snow dome," and which, being so nearly on a level, and so nearly identical in kind with those at the top of the picture, indicate what should be impossible, — a not very unequal elevation in them all; and thus, so far as the indication is felt, tending to depress the mountain.

It should not be deemed hypercritical to mention these trifles, or at the best only minor points, because the impression of great space, with which they in some degree interfere, is one of the most indispensable to the perfection of the work in its representative character. If we were to approve entirely the selection of these varieties of cloud, and their positions in the composition, there would be small enough chance to criticise their treatment and effect; since nothing can be truer or finer than their delicacy and transparency, nor more excitingly beautiful than the life and motion in them as they absorb, transmit, or reflect the playing sunshine. But great art must aim at truthful characterization in all the important particulars, no less than in the general whole.

We believe it is the highest triumph of the landscape-painter to render truly, from Nature, any of her infinite effects of space and atmosphere, in scenes of considerable variety and large extent. To succeed in this, it is requisite to know the art of subtile and almost interminable graduation; to gain the evasive secret of exquisite changefulness of color in tint and hue and tone; and to subdue and control the magical fire which everywhere pervades the cool fields of air, sending genial influence down the chill hollows of the sky, warming to life the motionless folds of cloud, or, at evening, as it bursts forth from the west in scarlet conflagration, dashing the earth

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with its vivid flames. Among the technical means to power, in the production of such effects, the principle of subtile graduation — a different principle from that of subordination, though not in all respects unlike it — is one that does not appear to be manifested in any very high degree in the work under consideration. For example, in the treatment of the broad tracts of woods along the valleys, plateaus, and lower hill slopes, the deficiency in respect to this principle is apparent. Take a single clump of trees anywhere upon the shores of the basin, and compare it with another farther off, and see if they are not quite alike, save that the latter is smaller. The parts of the farthest clump, though diminished in size, are equally definite or distinct, — with perhaps a trifle more of delicacy, — whereas they ought to have appeared in more obscurity. However, it must be confessed, in this instance, the effect of quantity, fairly lost by default in variety, is, in part at least, regained by the mere extension or breadth of its opposite uniformity. Besides, there is a quiet grandeur of unaffected naturalness in the whole valley, with the enclosed and contiguous woods, which it is rare indeed to find in equal perfection. The seeming motion in the illumined spaces, — the nearest and brightest fairly teeming with suppressed animation, and their seeming changefulness in brilliancy, as the scattered sunbeams are strained, now here, now there, fast or slowly through the dense or thin-veiled openings in the clouds, serve well to lighten the sadness of so vast a "contiguity of shade."

Having noticed those parts of the picture which more particularly affect the qualities of space, let us next consider the river; first descried in its large and placid curve around the small hamlet, but easily traced on its winding course back into the dim ravine or mountain-pass, whence it advances, after many a reckless plunge and disastrous fall, to meander through the long, level reaches of the soft-cushioned valleys, under the overhanging umbrage, out into the sunlight, then turning abruptly, and gliding more swiftly towards us and towards the rocky edge of the plain, where it "leaps in glory" from the height, — the late slowly, sliding stream transfigured before us in the gleaming white cloud of the cataract. Of the

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river itself, especially above the cataract, not much need be said. It is a quiet river, well content in its allotted course; and running, as it does, over wide flats upon the almost level beds of limestone, with only, at long intervals, a quick fall from the edge of one bed to another, its career is marked by periods of repose, when its waters loiter lazily or glide gently, and by brief moments of violent action, when the amber current, making a sudden plunge, changes to a shimmering curtain, — white or striped like jasper, — or upon hidden rocks shatters its crystal into the diamond-bright foam of the cataract. The magnificence of this feature in the picture is too palpable, by its combined graces of art and wealth of natural beauty, to require explanation. It reminds us of the miracle at the marriage of Cana. A river of water, by the will of some invisible power, turned in a moment to wine, — wine for the spirit, fit to be quaffed at the highest of earth's festivals. The flashing splendor of its exuberant burst of life, and the prismatic iridescence of its foaming whiteness, is far more charming to the sight, than the purple wine of Cyprus or the golden sherbet of Damascus is delicious to the taste.

Although the river and cataract may deserve our admiration without the offset of any important objection, — save, perhaps, the doubt that the water, after its great disturbance at the fall, subsides too suddenly in the basin below, — it is somewhat different with its rocky banks in and near the foreground. Neither in their color or texture, nor in the markings of their fissures and lines of stratification, do they seem to express quite the right rock-character. The color has been considered already; but the texture has the fault of showing a surface which is mechanically definite, yet exhibiting no decided qualities, seeming only a surface of nothing, whilst the markings of the breaks and cracks are much too distinct and alike.

Perhaps it is not perfectly fair to criticise an artist's selection of the least important materials of his subject, so long as they are not unnatural or incongruous. But that certainly appears not to have been the best choice, which devoted the whole territory embraced in the view — at least all the fore and middle ground — to the monotonous dominion of this

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"foxy-colored" limestone formation. Why not follow nature, and give more of the angular character of granite, or other primitive rock, to the upper ridges of the Cordillera, and, in lower places, some pilastered cliff of basalt or marble? For ourselves, we should like to have in the foreground representatives, in crag or boulder, of the plutonic crests and peaks of the central mountains, and of the ribs of the great snow-dome. It would be pleasant to see the paleness of the smooth-flowing river below the basin brightened by a few blocks of dark hornblende or greenstone; and a dike of variegated gneiss, protruding from a ledge or bank in the foreground, would not be amiss: nor would it be a needless relief to find along the edges of the distant plateaus, and upon the dusky spurs of the hills, a snowy flake or glistening points of quartz, to break the almost sad sameness of color spread over forest, plain, and mountain.

Although we have objected to the coloring of the cliffs in the river-banks, thinking it ought to be a little more varied, — redder here and grayer or browner there, — it may be that the present monotony is not without some advantage, as a contrast or foil to the color-effect of the climax-incident of the cataract. Perhaps, too, there may be another reason for the acceptance of these stones in their plainness of pale russet or ruddy brown. Or is it a mere fancy, that they have a secret office by their color, to assist in perfecting the quality and extending the influence of that dominating hue in the picture's general tone, which is also the key-note of the strain whose frequently repeated echoes through the interwoven melodies give to the painting its light touch of pathos and its beguiling sense of grand romance?

Though we have already entered upon the foreground, after a hasty visit to the distant parts, it may be well to return for a moment to the great snow-mountain. This we have found to be incompetent to personate the largest of the Andes; but we have not yet considered its worthiness to stand for the next in size, and represent to us the true character of the really high Andes. Throwing out of consideration those injurious circumstances connected with the clouds and Cordillera before mentioned, and giving full heed to the favoring indications,

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in the apparent proportions and perspective of the whole landscape, together with the color and texture of the mountain itself, it certainly appears to be very lofty and magnificent. And yet, as we remember, involuntarily, certain drawings and paintings of the Alps, — especially two or three in which Mont Blanc occupies the very remote distance, — there seems to be too much of smoothness in the roundness of the dome, and not enough breadth and extension towards the base, for a very large mountain.

From these peculiarities, and from the absence of any apparent connection with other high elevations on the flank or beyond, — notwithstanding the sharp white peak alluded to before, and which, being, as it is, beyond the clouds forming the background, must be a distinct mountain, — this towering form has an isolated or solitary appearance, that, to our experience, is inimical to the idea of the most sublime proportions. To be sure, we see a few ruddy peaks and sharp crests clustering against it; but being mostly in the direction of the Cordillera, the mountain, as a whole, still seems too simple and evenly rounded. But it is true, also, that the light, falling full, as it does, upon the whole front of the mountain, will naturally give the least distinctness and relief to whatever breaks and separate peaks there may actually be. Furthermore, it is a fact that the glistening white of sunlighted snow is apt to produce optical deceptions as to remoteness; and on this account, as well as on others, there is much difficulty in the way of a successful treatment of snow mountains in respect to the effect of distance. And finally, as we contemplate this really noble illusion of mountain, especially observing its many subtilties of form and color, the etherealities of its shadows, and the living radiance of sunshine upon its steep fields of snow, and as we note the tenderness of the gradual degradation of that radiance towards the earth, and the subtile truth of its sudden though imperceptible change, as it ascends the dome, from the warm glow of life to the strange pallor of celestial cold and death, and feel the inspiration of these effects, we are ready to yield to it its highest claim. But viewing it only as a part of the whole, the greater whole, the objections just named again have influence, and we call it a

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beautiful, a grand, and even a great mountain, though not one of the highest, nor yet characteristic of the principal Andes.

And now, while our regard lingers upon the painting as a whole, let us turn an especial glance upon the immediate foreground, to see what sort of general impression it gives in connection with the other parts. The impression seems to be one of greater richness and no less breadth in this part than in any other of equal area, and of more seeming naturalness also; although at first most of us are probably a little surprised to see so much which is apparently familiar in the character of the objects composing it. But on remembering where the scene is laid, in what may be called the temperate zone of the tropics, and the absence therein of most of those examples of vegetation, so strange and romantic to us, which abound in the torrid zone, and which we involuntarily associate with every tropical scene, the surprise disappears, though, as we think, in most cases only to give place to some disappointment.

When, however, our attention is directed more exclusively to the marvellous accumulation of interesting, characteristic, and beautiful incident in it, the wonders of its arborescent and herbaceous wealth supply for the time ample compensation for any fancied losses. It is here that the painter has lavished his finest devices and most captivating effects. It is here that the guiding spirit in Mr. Church's art, manifesting itself in a pervading law of *natural truth*, makes everywhere vital the sense of reality; and it is here, at the threshold of the picture, that criticism halts, at first, under the pleasant shocks of surprise, sharing for a while the common admiration of the prodigality of beauty, to find afterward its largest occupation.

The first thought, arising from a close inspection of the foreground, is of the extraordinary beauty in the objects which compose it; the next, of the microscopic elaboration of the almost inexhaustible variety in every square inch of its two thousand or more. And at last, when we discover on a single tree stem (the larger one on the right) a sufficient number of appropriate incidents to fill an ordinary picture,—and in all other parts find the matter copious and the ex-

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pression clear, — we think the artist's invention is as tireless as it is fruitful. But after a while, becoming more accustomed to elegant profusion, a good deal of that invention begins to show too great similarity to mere memory; and our thoughts take rather a practical turn, inclining to be busy about arithmetical computations, or in scientific verification of facts concerning botanical specimens; instead of attending to their appropriate duties as the æsthetic servants of the imagination, bearing its subtile messengers to all the sources of feeling and emotion, and demanding tribute to its inspiration. And as all that is excellent or beautiful or wonderful in this foreground has been sufficiently commended by others as apparent perfection, it must be our less grateful task, without overlooking the good, to point out some imperfections, not so apparent perhaps. This task will not be too easy; because, while the merits are such as appeal directly to the senses, and are palpable and plain to all, the defects or imperfections — existing in the qualities of effects rather than in the effects themselves, and in fact in the very qualities which in most cases make their *seeming* perfection — are inwrapt in a comparative secrecy, from which it is scarcely possible to withdraw them in language clear of all liability to ambiguity or mystery of interpretation.

First, then, in viewing the foreground in its relation to the whole subject, — for it is only or mainly in this view that the imperfections are suggested, — there is felt to be a want of emphasis upon that quality, dependent mainly upon force of color, which denotes its nearness. And, secondly, though rich enough in detail, there is a lack of a certain sort of general splendor, to excite our ideality, and of bold obscurity to stimulate imagination; the one depending upon heightened and concentrated color, and the other resulting from vagueness in form subordinated to an external purpose. These deficiencies are also felt, more or less, in all other parts of the work. And they are at the root of most of the shortcomings in the principal aim of the artist. Furthermore, the manifestly unrivalled beauty and success of Mr. Church's technics make it evident, that, whatever faults may be found in his pictures, they do not spring from weakness in the artist,

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but solely from defects in his theory. "Great art," he seems to say, "must *individualize*, and not merely *characterize*, — that is, every object must be shown as a completed *individual*, instead of only as a representative phase or character of itself." This would be true, perhaps, in topographic or mere historical landscape art, but not in true art. However, he is supposed to continue, "Consequently, to secure perfect individualism, it is, of course, necessary to delineate definitely, and to define completely."

A theory involving such principles, it will be readily seen, virtually denies the ideal, as it is generally understood at least, though Mr. Church might think to reconcile them by making the ideal, as many do, stand for merely the most perfect actual. But, to our apprehension, the principle of the so-called ideal in art is inherently opposed to the actual, or the physically true. It has always, until very recently at any rate, been conceded, that all high art exists by a certain something, generally regarded as a secret principle, but always recognized as its essential essence, under the name *ideal*. We accept the principle, — with the understanding that it represents the result of a process rather than an inherent or abstract quality.

Having already referred to the untenable pretensions about the picture's being a typical rendering of its subject, we may now suggest that it does not appear to be any better qualified to be considered as ideal. For these principles are wholly different, though sometimes confounded; as the latter may not only include the former, but is universal and essential, while the other is partial and unessential. Another difference is, that while all are agreed as to the nature and purpose of the typical principle in art, not only the nature of the ideal is made the subject of continual discussion, but its very existence is now doubted. We do not deny that Mr. Church's picture possesses and exhibits many instances of the ideal; we only say that, as a whole, it is not ideal. The effect of sunshine in several parts of the painting is to us ideal in the highest sense; as, first, upon the old, shattered, and limbless trunk on the left, with its flower trophy brightly illumined by a sunbeam, as vital and more beautiful than a natural light,

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— a living ray inspired by the spirit of the rainbow; then the same kind of light, not quite so bright, alighting upon the still vigorous and well-bowered tree-stems on the right, and growing dimmer yet, as, piercing the deep shadow of the forest covert, — a sylvan bower of wondrous beauty, — to touch the farthest trunks back in the cool darkness, each with a single bright flake from the bounteous sun; then the fainter, though broader and more refulgent beams, which break in such brilliant efflorescence upon the sparkling white foam of the cataract; and, lastly, the still fainter and yet broader illumination falling full upon the great Andean mount, and bathing its white walls and dome till they glow in the warming flood. Such absolute illusion of sunshine, under the law of beauty, we have nowhere seen, save in another work by the same hand, — the "Niagara," in which the "bow" is given with a similar success. The general effect of the cataract by itself is likewise ideal; and so we may regard a few of the color-harmonies, and many of the combinations of appropriate or significant incidents upon the leading forms of its foreground.

It is well to note these points, as illustrations of the correctness of our assumption, that the main objections to the work are the consequence of a wrong theory, instead of insufficient power. And also, that the ideality in them consists, principally, in so intensifying a natural fact as to give it the character of an impression.

Of course, some absolute definition or intelligible explanation of the ideal, — of its nature and office, — would be desirable at this point; but to satisfy this desire would demand a separate essay. We must, therefore, be content with merely claiming it as something vital in art, leaving our own idea of its precise nature without any other explanation than may be hinted in the course of the criticism.

Of the effects, however, which are characterized by its presence, it may be well to make a general statement. A work that is ideal, then, will present the image of certain chosen facts of nature, — first, in such relations, and with that kind of intensification by borrowed qualities, as to give it a peculiar cast of meaning, naturally connected with and dependent on the artist's sympathy with the subject; and, secondly, so that the

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leading effect in it will be the true representation or reflex of the emotional impression in (and inspiring, perhaps) his conception of the original scene. This general characteristic implies and includes, of course, others, which will appear more or less as we proceed to notice parts and traits of this painting not yet considered.

Mr. Church has had much commendation bestowed upon the quiet naturalness of his work. Quiet is well and naturalness is well, each in its proper place. But one of the first results of the true ideal to be looked for in a picture is an *emphatic* and *peculiar* general effect, — emphatic by concentration, and peculiar by its meaning or character, as above implied. Does this picture show such an effect? In our judgment it does not. We go to see it with the expectation of beholding, if not "The Heart of the Andes," at any rate a characteristically grand scene among the Andes; and that expectation is met, surely not with what will, at the first sight, either surprise such expectation, or satisfy it. We have ample grounds for believing this to be the most common result of the first view. And longer beholding will not essentially change the nature of the first impression, though it may enlarge and extend it by increasing admiration in the successive discovery of things not seen at first. So that the fault really does not entirely spring from any deficiency or inappropriateness in the subject-matter, but from some other causes, which will be found in the spirit and manner of the presentation or imitation of that matter. First, there is a lack of the right sort of mystery in the rendering of the parts and their relations, the consequence of too much definiteness in the delineation, — in its mode and effect we mean; and this is a fault, because it fails to give imagination its proper objects and play. Another glance at the foreground will show how the clearly and uniformly well-defined details in every part, not excepting the smallest leaves and twigs, or anything that is really visible, deny the claims of the imagination, and lay hold on the perceptive faculties.

This definiteness is at war with another requisite, namely, the peculiar cast of meaning, which may be called the idea and ruling sentiment of the picture; because by its limita-

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tions it prevents a right sense of fulness, and by the absence of vagueness it does not assist the expression of any particular *bias* of the strictly natural appearances in accordance with the adopted signification. Objects in themselves separately cannot have inherently, of course, any peculiar meaning or bias of expression. This they obtain through association of foreign qualities, and their mutual relation, — something impossible when the defining of the actual is perfectly traceable and complete. It also opposes, in effect, subordination; another necessity wherever there is a leading idea. Complete, and therefore equal delineation of facts, is inconsistent with a proper emphasizing of the most significant qualities in them. In nature, the inherent expression of beauty is sufficient by its perfection; but in art, what else might be imperfection is concealed by the accumulation and joining of other beauty of such significance as will satisfy the sympathetic conception of the original. For beauty in nature is related to the principle of love in man. And the artist's conception of his subject is based upon love, instead of reason.

Let us not be understood to assent entirely to the common idea of great naturalness in this painting. It is natural in a certain sense, but not in the right sense, as we think. It exhibits an unaffected and wholesome out-of-doorishness that is exceedingly pleasing, and is right enough in itself, regarded as an idea, but wrong in its relations as an effect. A comparison with standard art in general will show that, both in its kind and degree, this peculiar naturalness is a marked trait in this painting. But its singularity is nothing against it. Its wrongness arises by conflicting with other traits of more importance on the whole. It is opposed to the effect of designed intensity and mystery; though with the latter it is partially reconcilable in one respect, namely, that, by means of the completeness of imitation, there results a mimicry of some of nature's own mysteries, the principal of these being such as tend to deceive our sight in the true tints, together with occasional confusion of the forms by the colors, and which may be more correctly designated, deceptions of the senses. To give an example. When viewing the foreground, at the right distance, the shadows which we see crossing the

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bank to the left, and the bridle-path, where it starts into view, appear to the eye pure gray; but closer inspection shows they are azure or purple. If the picture were before us, a variety of such instances could be found, with many analogous deceptions in the forms produced by a like mechanical subtilty in the chiaroscuro. In mystery of this sort, some of the Pre-Raphaelites also excel, as Mr. Millais in "The Royalist Captive," and "The Huguenots," or other works containing elaborate details of vegetation, — and, furthermore, accompanied by such characters of force or intensity as hardly appear in Mr. Church's work.

Finally, as to the naturalness being opposed to intensity. It also excludes, by its accuracy (within certain limits), the kind of concentration (as well as the subordination) and variety required to enforce the impression of beauty, particularly in the coloring. We may explain that by variety in this connection is not meant merely a large number of different colors, but rather a certain and constant changefulness and graduation in *each* color or tint. And a glance will show this is not a trait in the coloring of this painting.

Great force in color is very essential in the production of the ideal effect, as the color-harmonies are the most constant and powerful expressions of the element of beauty. Besides the way above mentioned, force of color is obtained by certain contrasts under the laws of chromatic harmony. Perhaps our meaning in these matters will be made more plain by some examples. Many artists of the present French school excel in giving force by variety; and some pictures, by Lambinet and Troyon, will afford some very striking illustrations. Others of the same school are equally masters of the method by contrast. The English Linnels, father and son, possess uncommon power in heightening and giving splendor to color by subtile accumulations of variety. Among Americans, Mr. Wild secures an extraordinary intensity in his color by direct purity of tint and tone, and finely arranged contrasts. Mr. Babcock, in his incomplete, though alluringly suggestive pictures, shows the effect of variety in a most exciting beauty obtained by an apparently ultimate concentration of that variety in each hue, seemingly abstractly perfect. In this case, the result is closely

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connected with the most marked indefiniteness of delineation. Mr. Gay manifests in a very high degree the faculty of giving, by subtile arrangement and graduation, power and beauty to some of the most neutral and lowest tones of landscape color. And Mr. Gerry expresses well the associated beauty of color with the mystery of landscape, through fulness of composition and graceful tenderness in the manner of his delineation. Not to multiply examples, we may merely mention two other illustrious names, Gifford and Mignot; the first attaining marked force in the ruling sentiment of beauty by simplicity and extreme delicacy and breadth in composition, and the second achieving the same end by adroit concentration of associated color richness.

Now one thing is to be noted of all these examples, that while they agree with, and are a part of, the true ideal, and contribute to it, they do not produce that kind of illusion of out-of-door naturalness seen in the Heart of the Andes. And if this effect is only to be purchased at the cost of those other qualities, then we must, of course, decide against its unqualified merit and desirableness.

Other reasons may be found for this decision. Deceptive resemblances of landscape nature are the signs, if not the proofs, of comparatively low art, as may be shown by analogies with natural effects, of which the commonest are the tamest; while, on the other hand, those which we feel and acknowledge to be the most sublime or magnificent are at the same time the strangest and most surprising.

In fine, the *actual* is the object of science and the stereoscope; art seeks for that which may still be called the *ideal*, — notwithstanding the many ingenious or vehement protests of the present day, — and this because it is the only word as yet coined that can stand for the change, mysterious and variable, universally wrought by art upon the material of its themes. Furthermore, this change is not always the same, but ever variable, to suit the constantly changing emotions whence they spring in the first instance, and to which they afterward return their power. For the correspondence between the picture and the subject to remain unaffected and alike in all cases, would be to petrify human emotion, and transform the

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artist into an animated stereoscope. Fortunately, there is no fear of such a chance.

Mr. Kensett, halting upon the west beach, observes the sun just sinking into the light spray of the mist-bank on the horizon over Newport Bay, and notes it, gilding, with its slightly bedimmed gold, the gray and purple cliffs arising in order on the right-hand shore, straining its shining beams through the green scoop of the larger waves before, edging the few curves of cloud with ruddy orange-fringes, and sprinkling the blue of the sky with its golden rain. He may also observe, perhaps, many beautiful or curious objects along the land, and see in the slowly rising surf a bewildering changefulness of color and form; nor fail to note the varying light and shadow of sails in the offing. But not from these does he derive the impression which afterward inspires his picture. Only the former — the sunlight and color — could make him feel the luxury and harmonious magnificence of a whole atmosphere ablaze with auriferous fire resting upon a tremulous ocean of liquid malachite and sapphire. So, in his conception, the artist overlooks or passes by those things which, being unessential, would likewise be opposed to the harmony he feels in the others; and as he works, the remembrance of some effects which were palpable enough to the feelings, though by the eye unseen, — as, e. g., a grateful sense of coolness in the "sweet southwest," a sense of life and universal movement in the water, and an apprehension of mystery in the ocean life, and of infinity beyond the darkening horizon, — the remembrance of such as these arise to enrich and intensify the beauty and significance of all the accepted parts in their due proportions; — the coolness and the moisture deepening the green and purple of the sea, the life and movement concentrating and brightening the points and energizing the lines of expression, and the sense of space and mystery giving to the blue a purer and more elusive azure, while all combine towards the final effect, which fills the beholder's sense with a predesigned rapture.

This illustration may partly exhibit, in a single instance, that process by which the artistic perception works upon external objects to produce the ideal in art; — a process in

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its applications various as its subjects or the minds that conceive them, but in its purpose immutable. This example will likewise show literal truth is not one of the conditions of the ideal. Its truth is only relative, not local. For instance, another artist, say Mr. Durand, witnessing the scene rendered by Mr. Kensett, might derive an impression different in one, or many ways; — different in the development of vital beauty, and probably in the character of the conceived cast of meaning; or different through the artist's conception embracing a new set of facts, whence of course a new idea of relationship. No single conception could contain all the facts of this or any other subject. The second artist's attention, instead of being drawn particularly to the glory of the yellow and crimson light, might perhaps be absorbed by the play of rich colors over the swells and hollows of the waves, and on the foam and weed-laced beach-sand, where the dark and stealthy rollers ever and anon splash with a crystal tide the gemmy chain of shingle; and by the infinitely variegated coloring on the wrinkled faces of the adjacent cliffs; and by the subtile changefulness, in tint and hue, everywhere in the vaporous sky. These would be facts no less than the others; and this necessarily different picture of the impression based upon them might yet be just as true to nature and art as the first. For it must be observed, that this kind of representation cannot be mechanically or strictly accurate, because a fact of nature at once comprehends both these orders, or sets of artistic facts; consequently, literal truth to natural fact is not a condition of truth in art.

On the contrary, as before shown, the ideal effect may and must leave out or reject something, more or less, of what exists in the actual. And yet more, as artistic truth is consistent with incompleteness as to the actual; so, on the other hand, it demands in compensation the addition of something not visibly present in the subject. Again, as no artistic conception of a scene will comprehend all its facts, it is not therefore to be inferred that we think there are any definable limits as to the number of truths or the quantity of matter allowable in a given subject. Mr. Church's picture, it may be said, possesses an extraordinary fulness; — not

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by its sum of truths, or its number of details, but by the completeness of all which are contained in it. In this respect alone the picture is uncommonly full, and in many ways, on that account, exceedingly effective and pleasant. But this kind of completeness takes up too much room in a work, and, however close the details may be packed and extended in minutiæ, it will be found to exclude very much which is essential to the development of the theme in a true ideal effect. A designed incompleteness, on the other hand, may introduce, through the power of suggestion, truths without limits, and make them appear just so far definite and entire as the expression of the dominant idea may require. This last is a part of the right method of imitation, and is strictly subjective in its action and results; while the definite aiming or the objective delineation in the picture is incompatible with the highest conditions of art. Its incompleteness is apparent in other characteristics. It is in itself perfectly explainable, and its effects are easily repeated; whereas the subjective imitation, as a whole process, is inexplicable, and impossible to be exactly repeated. It is a mystery even to the artist employing it. In each instance of its action, it assumes a new aspect, almost a new nature; because it springs from a sort of æsthetic inspiration, — which may be defined as a subtile apprehension in the painter, when under the influence of the ruling sentiment in his subject, of just the kind of imitation required by the organizing law of the leading idea. And this imitation, being always peculiar, and to some extent new, will never present decided uniformity of appearance, but will be marked by wilful variations and eccentricities. We certainly cannot say there is anything of this sort in the pictorial processes employed by Mr. Church. Everything is clean, orderly, and delicate; all is uniformly complete and serene (perhaps with suppressed power). There is no exaggeration here or blurring there, no quick cross-stroke of lightning imagination, nor any of the more striking signs of the action of æsthetic inspiration.

These last traits, it will be seen, act directly towards the production of those effects of mystery, emphasis, and intensification, that, as described above, combine in a peculiar and

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decided impression; which impression, consequently, must have a certain capacity to excite some surprise at first sight, — not the meaningless feeling of astonishment, or a startled sense of aimless wonder, but the emotion that calls imagination to its welcome work of unfolding the rich secrets, first descried and unlocked by the right perceptions and natural sympathies. Now it may be truly said of the Heart of the Andes, that it does not surprise at first, — not in this way, at least, — nor is there any strongly marked effect of beauty, singularity, or sublimity to answer, as previously intimated, to the expectations raised about it. In an earlier Andean picture by the same artist, there was not wanting the power to surprise in the first instance, and the matter to justify or explain afterwards without destroying it. This last painting is not wanting in many things, it is proper to say, as the beauty of the various parts comprising it, — their abstract beauty and brilliant illusions, — to excite fancy and imagination very strongly when they come to be successively comprehended, and to move the feelings to exceeding great delight, as we shall still further exemplify. The greatest fault here seems to be in the absence of the vagueness, subordination, and the expression of mystery, by which a more peculiar and striking general effect, and more suggestiveness to magnify the quantity of art to the apparent limits of nature. A peculiarity of the painting now is, that it seems really to suggest less than it contains. This is not to be found in the works of any acknowledged master. A picture by Turner, for instance, will always, when viewed as a whole, suggest far more than the actual matter or facts in it substantiate. We would not, of course, have a picture as vague as a sketch, in order to feed imagination, only such mystery as there is in the most generally accepted works of the artist just named.

Leaving now the discussion of processes and principles, concerned mainly with the mere act of representation, we may continue the consideration of the matters and effects to be represented; — first repeating the most important points previously touched upon. On one hand, the work shows a powerful illusion of naturalness in its parts; much beauty

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in the selected details and incidents, especially in the foreground, with effective imitation of them; also, fine melodies of temperate and simple local coloring; and a surpassing perfection of the effect of vivid reality in the sunbeams or the spaces of brightest illumination. On the other hand, there is too much definiteness and completeness in the manner and the result of the delineation; the color is too weak and monotonous, more particularly upon the nearer portions of the composition; the great Cordillera seems to be wanting in the right character and expression; also, we do not feel a sense of space adequate to the subject; and lastly, the appearance of the "fine pencils of light," in "*converging*" perspective, is a very clever failure indeed. Most of these defects deserve a tolerant consideration, on account of their intimate connection with some of the brightest merits, in which, indeed they seem to originate. As, for example, the insufficient spaciousness is the consequence of the accurate completion of separate objects; and the lack of mystery is owing to the same cause. But they are none the less defects on that account. The physical conditions of the scene demand a sense of largeness in form and space, far greater than is given.

In regard to the weak and monotonous coloring, we have above confessed that the artist was right in making choice of a quiet scale, appropriate to a rather early moment in the evening; but he need not have made it more quiet than the assumed circumstances would enforce, as another comparison will plainly show that he has done. We have often observed the change and subtile richness in the color of natural scenes which appears about an hour before sunset, more especially over distant objects, as on remote mountains and valleys, where the changes first commence; when the grays alter to purples, and the pearly blues deepen to azures, and the dusky crimson and the orange-russet begin to appear; and we see the contrasting principles of light and shade, of warmth and coldness, gradually, as the night approaches, separate from their close union by day, and gather to themselves each their legitimate elements; and as the sun goes down, the one settles and covers the valleys, hills, and the steep

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mountain-sides with its royal gloom, the other, driven to the horizon, flows awhile in golden or "orange rivers" between the island clouds, here and there edging them with scarlet ripples. But soon the rich, warm rivers run themselves away, the fiery ripples are withdrawn, and sable-robed night rises over the world.

If our examination of The Heart of the Andes were to end here, no proper result of appreciation of the coloring of this work, nor of a peculiar character wrought by it, in the picture's predominant sentiment, would be reached. It is true, to repeat what has been before said, the color is so temperate as at first to excite surprise, by its tameness instead of its force. But this would be no fault, if the leading idea required a subdued color effect, which the most essential conditions in the present case did not. Nevertheless, there are positively good qualities about it, besides its healthy naturalness, and local aptitude to the general harmony. It has the richness of well-combined variety, and it possesses the very attractive, though delicate, beauty of a seemingly appropriate moral significance in connection with the theme. This last quality is sufficiently sensible to our feelings and imagination, though not very obvious to our more literal perceptions, and apparently depends upon a just perceptible inclination to a peculiar *purplish* cast, to be seen in the coloring of the principal masses and in their combined effect. As a general color tendency, it does not appear to be at all a settled characteristic of Mr. Church's paintings, although there is something like the same feeling perceptible in the "Niagara," as seen by gas-light. In the picture of the Andes, this sense of purple will be found the most perceptible, of course, in the shadowed and dark portions of the composition; but it is quite palpable in the illumined parts, while its peculiar character is more sensibly felt in the broad, middle tones. It pervades the scene, dimming the foreground splendor, paling the lustre of snow and cloud, and tinging even the seemingly vaporless air with a cast of serious serenity, or melancholy sweetness, giving to the whole a sentiment equally beautiful and appropriate in the image of a natural landscape surfeited with magnificence. Purple as a color, both rela-

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tively and in a symbolic way, signifies the imperial; but in inanimate nature it is characteristically associated with decay and destruction, or the destructive forces. Therefore, in a region where the earthquake abides, holding a long reign of terror; where human blood runs "ruddy and turbid;" where crystal streams, flowing over golden sands, through luxuriant valleys, whose gorgeous arborial and herbaceous splendors tinge the light vapors and the very air with rainbow richness, may suddenly give place to a fiery flood of liquid stone, poured from a newly aroused volcano, and change in a moment a fairy scene to a blackened waste; and where serpent fangs find their human prey in the sweetest bowers of paradise; — such a hue as this — a pale, ashy purple — seems to have a very marked significance.

On this, however, we do not insist. We shall only consider the chromatography of the picture. Mainly, then, the peculiar cast of purple results from the prevalence of yellow-olive and neutral blue and gray-green in the middle tones of the picture, and which represent, in the medium scales, — in our conception of the general effect, — the opposed powers of color, life, and colorless death, where their antagonistic distinctiveness is the least perceptible. In all the most important combinations and effective points of color expression, the chromatic arrangement seems to be based on this purple element, or combined in reference to it, as the *archeus* or key-note; so that all the various melodies which fill the picture, of whatever elements, and on whatever principles composed, will be found to accord with and melodize, in contrast or harmony, this dominant hue. The general system of the coloring might, we believe, be well illustrated by a comparison with the harmonic and melodic composition of an overture, characterized by simplicity and delicate richness. For the analogy between color and music is, at least, no less true than fanciful. In this case it may be casily traced. The first impression of the general color effect is like the simultaneous sounds of an orchestra, when giving some grand chord or phrase, and which, to make the analogy complete, should have a peculiar sensuousness in the tone, as of great richness concealed, great power suppressed, and great brilliancy sad-

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dened. As to the particulars of the analogy, we may not here do more than hint them. For instance, the combination in the sky and snow mountain, where white contrasts with violet, would answer to a chord sounded by the oboes, horn, and flute; the golden olive associated with warm light in the cataract, and then contrasted with the purple russet of the cliff, might be represented by the bassoon, viola, and clarinet; the right-hand foreground, with its crimson brown, varied greens, and rich grays, sprinkled with drops of white and scarlet, — splashed and variegated by violet and orange and yellow, while above it all reigns the queenly blue of the Indian flower, — altogether, would require, to produce an answering effect, half an orchestra, with the flute dominating for the waving cymes of the flower; the dark purple of the mountain behind, in its sober richness of subtilely varied hue, is like a loud swelling tone from a cluster of the trombone, bassoon, and double bass; and lastly, in the left-hand foreground are displayed both the most brilliant effects and the most weird combinations. The natural mingling of the dark-toned, yet for the most part vivid colors, in the sloping dell, of emerald and olive on the drenched grass, of lurid blues and purples in the waters dribbling toward the "dank tarn" below, of cold green darkness broken only by small flashes or quivering streaks of livid light; all which, in its general contrast with the gemmy brightness of the high banks, along the level surfaces of which the white bridle-road flashes, zigzag, in the sunshine, falls upon the sense like that discordant blast when Don Giovanni challenges the Commendatore, and serves as a most effective background to the finest point of color expression in the picture, — that point, namely, where a living beam of light strikes upon the wasting monument of withered magnificence, and glitters upon the flower-wreath with which the genius of the present decorates the venerable relic of the past. At this point, the artist has focused every effect that is brightest and most beautiful in all his work; and it is the true climax of his collective harmonies, to represent which mere instruments alone are wholly inadequate. Nothing but the finest voices, joined with, but rising above, the most exquisite orchestration, could create its an-

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swering chord. And finally, if, in the powerful impression of its beauty, a thought of the cross, in close proximity, with figures praying beside it, chance to blend with the thrill of delight from its visible music, it may recall the passage in the Messiah, and touch you with the inspiration and pathos of the "I know that my Redeemer liveth!"

It has probably been observed, that our examination so far has been mainly confined to such objects and characters in the subject as may be considered relatively permanent and immobile. It must now, in order to be less incomplete, take a passing notice of such features and effects as are comparatively accidental and essentially nomadic; and which, in one form or another of their ever-changing natures and aspects, are no less constant, as the transient tenants or the superficial accompaniments of scenes like this, than the others are fundamental and permanent. If we were looking upon a real landscape answering to this painting, we should see many effects and characteristics, which, like the flash of an eye, the shadowed brow, or the flushed cheek, marking expression in the face, would seem to be the signs of character and action, and the expression of meanings in its various features. Among these the chiaroscuro, also one of the original and constant elements, and sufficiently described above, is the most obvious and effective agent of expression. Then come the phenomena of rain, mist, and haze, altering and obscuring the permanent forms, with here a shower veil, drawn across a mountain notch, or thrown over a distant hill, and there a glimmer of dusty air or sun-smitten haze hiding or confusing a river-bend or valley far away. Then we see smoke clouds, rising from camp of savage, or habitation of man; and trailing scarfs of mists, winding among smaller peaks or caught upon sharp crags, or the same in little plumy clouds, waving over fallen torrent, or hidden stream; and small fleecy battings of fog, like clots of mountain rheum staining its own dark breast, or the frothy spume of threatening cloud above. And then there is the movement of cloudy wreaths of vapor, as they are drawn by the sun from the deep gorges and driven, by the continual draughts or the always wandering mountain gusts, about the lifting spurs, from one ravine to another; and also the trembling flashes of light, reflected

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from the "smoking cataracts" upon the lofty brows and walls of neighboring ridge or precipice. These are some of the phenomenal features which are natural everywhere in extensive scenes, and denote the moods and actions in the passing life of landscapes. But do we find them in "The Heart of the Andes"? Except those already accredited, we think not. The only kind of life apparent here is that of a dreamless sleep. Unbroken tranquillity reigns throughout the scene; no passage of passion or suggestive incoherence, nothing but calm beauty emphasized, perhaps, in one or two spots of concentrated light. The river is a mirror in its placidity; and its sudden start into seeming fiery life, at the cataract, is too abrupt and brief for any effectual exception. And if it were, it would quickly vanish before the passive monotony of the broad *montaña* and the huge expressionless bulk of the cloud-capped Cordillera, in its motionless quiet, whereon no sharply serrated crest, no deep ravine, striped down its sides with livid scars, or bridged across by treacherous beams of vapor, marks the energy and violence of mountain nature; but roll after roll of ridges along and over its lymphatic sides and even slopes betokens only the unity of monotony and the action of unconscious existence.

The limits of a single article have proved inadequate for the full consideration we had designed, and we must stop, leaving some important features of the subject unnoticed; but not with words whose seemingly rough meaning would be equally injurious to the tenor of our appreciation of this picture and to the harmony of its expression. Rather let us freely confess that as the vision of the Heart of the Andes rises full on our memory, in all its symmetry of proportions, and perfect adjustment of its diverse parts, — in all its well-ordered wealth and chastened beauty, and great accumulation of natural incident, — and we note again the simplicity of its splendor and the grace of its effects, and feel anew the gentle influence of its luxurious calm, and the saddened sweetness of its close-woven melodies of color, we acknowledge in all our thoughts the potency of the spell which a great artist alone can weave. And as the charm works, it almost makes us forget or change the faith within us; and, in the raised spirit of nature, see the heaven-born genius of art.

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Art. VIII. — REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

The appointment of Mr. Hill to the responsible post left vacant by the death of Horace Mann — a post for which his singular fitness had so general, so instant, and so spontaneous a recognition everywhere — gives a particular interest to his statements of that religious truth, which, in any right judgment, is the basis of all truth.

The reader of his modest volume of Discourses* is struck, first of all, by the singleness of purpose which keeps every other quality subordinate to the main one, of being a plain, firm, pious utterance of Christian belief. Even the amplitude of knowledge and the delicacy of observation which have won for Mr. Hill an honorable place in the ranks of pure natural science, appear but incidentally and by hints. A man of one tenth of his resources, of livelier fancy and less simplicity of aim, might easily have made a far greater display of the infinite wealth of illustration religious truth finds in the universe of God. That "the Gospel is not to be superseded by Science," — the title Mr. Hill has given to Sermon No. V. of this collection, — he seems to have taken to heart as a special precaution against admitting human knowledge as anything else than the handmaid of piety, in the very humblest ways. Only in the argument of the last discourse, that children should be taught by Nature, does he suffer himself to speak genially and fluently as he might of the instruction got directly from outward things. For ourselves, we should have desired something more of those rarer qualities of mind, and remoter lines of thought, which he had already illustrated in the little work on "Geometry and Faith." But as an example of strict subordination of the lower to the higher, of the homage which a man of singular ability and wealth of intellect in the sphere of science pays in all humility to that Divine Word whose sphere is the conscience and soul, we conceive that the moral value of this volume may be even higher than its speculative value would have been.

We state what seems to us, on the whole, the intellectual aspect of the volume. It is, however, only in its abstinence from what might stimulate the imagination and gratify the taste for speculation that our remark applies. The argument in these discourses is very evidently built upon a close, accurate, and thorough consideration of the fundamental truths of science. Not only are they made subordinate in the sense of not usurping the front place and crowding religion out of sight, but also in the sense that they are made the foundation, hidden but strong, on which the fabric of Christian faith may rest. The right relation of fundamental scientific truth with fundamental religious truth — especially that which is most intimately connected with the conscience and affections — is very evidently a distinct and conscious aim of the

* Jesus the Interpreter of Nature, and other Sermons. By Thomas Hill. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co.

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preacher. It is in the easy and incidental mastery of the lines of thought in that direction, the point and felicity of single illustrations which only a man of science would see so distinctly or state so well, that we perceive the special bent and training of the author's mind, — as in the example (p. 125) from the geometrical conception of a curved line, or that (p. 121) which compares the problem of evil with the unsolvable problems of mathematics. Indeed, a particular value of the book consists in its being statements of Christian truth, clearly and vigorously apprehended by a mind to which the highest generalizations of science and its minutest observations are familiar, — whose special task it has been to interpret the cipher in which the Divine Word has been written throughout the visible universe. It is with all the force of conviction of an intellect so trained and so devout that Mr. Hill says: —

"I cannot conceive science adopting any other view of the organization of matter than that of considering it dependent on God's will for all its forces, and *regarding the laws of those forces as his thoughts.* I cannot conceive a sound philosophy as resting on any other basis than that of looking upon spirit as the primal reality; and upon matter as merely a medium, created by the Eternal Spirit to manifest his own thoughts, and to enable us to manifest ours. Nor can I rest in a religion which separates God from his works, or makes him other than that One Being, of whom, through whom, and for whom are all things." — p. 139.

Yet even more distinctly than in these interpretations of Nature into conformity with religious truth does the volume bear its testimony to the practical and vital side of religion, — that which makes it a force in the will and an element in the affection. Even more marked than the accuracy, vigor, and force of thought is the simple devoutness of spirit, the perpetual reference to Scripture, and the apprehension of the deeper things of the spiritual life. It is eminently a volume of devout Christian *Sermons.* Its highest ambition is to restate, with all simpleness and fidelity, the familiar and everlasting truth of the Gospel as it comes home to the heart and life of men. It is wholly in keeping with the general tone of thought, that several of the discourses terminate with a sort of collect, or special prayer, in which the truth declared becomes the direct aspiration and petition of the soul; while all culminate in the tone and spirit, if not in the particular form, of devotion.

We should be glad to copy two or three of the instances of affectionate observation of natural things that have attracted our eye, — such, for example, as the illustration (p. 39) of "the marvellous light;" the study of beauty in particular objects (p. 197); the lesson from the fragile loveliness of the wind-flower (p. 234); and the multitude of things that touch the teachable heart of childhood. These are indications of abundant and rich material, which we only regret has been used so sparingly. And we trust that this volume is only one instalment of that special service to Christian truth which the writer's unique accomplishments entitle us to expect from him.

We esteem it a felicity to have at hand another volume of discourses of the same tone and general class with those just noticed, and giving

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testimony to the same order of Biblical truth. Mr. Brooks* has given in "twenty-five sermons, a few of the later fruits (or seeds) of a ministry of nearly as many years." To the reader, a group of separate discourses thus gathered together comes with some natural disadvantage. The leisure, the atmosphere, the deliberateness, the *interval*, which they presuppose in their delivery, are all wanting; and it will be very rarely indeed that the lack of them is compensated by the method; proportion, and progression of them as a whole. The volume before us will greatly gain in proportion as the reader can restore those lost conditions. The sermons it contains are specifically *sermons*, addressed to the reverent and quiet mood of Sunday, and indicating thoughtfulness and refinement, not only in the writer's mind, but also in those of his audience. The quietness and thoughtfulness of tone, which first strike the attention in them, are accompanied by a felicity and occasional energy of style which make them very favorable specimens of their class. For the very reason that they are real parish sermons, and are true throughout to the aim hinted in their title, they offer few salient points for criticism. Mr. Brooks believes in the power of truth, simply and sincerely spoken. He has been faithful to the ordination charge he received from Channing, — that the chief end of his mission was to "help men to *see*." (p. 23.) He has been more concerned to develop and enforce the truth of the Gospel as he already knew and received it, than to piece it out or supplant it by new forms of dogmatism or speculation. The volume is an example of consistent, faithful, earnest Unitarianism; — a defence, where necessary, of "the simplicity of Christ's teachings" against the pretensions of doctrinal theories or metaphysical speculations; and an unfolding, in wise and practical ways, of the moral meaning and the spiritual beauty of those teachings. In no volume of its size and class do we remember more of candid, thoughtful, and intelligent exposition of the Christian Scriptures. And there is none to which we should refer with more confidence as an illustration of what is meant by Unitarianism as the system of truth derived in good faith from the ideas and language of the New Testament. With its uncommon beauty of type and paper, fitly clothing the calm purity of its diction and the graceful vigor of its thought, it is a model of the record which one would wish to leave of a faithful, sincere, and devout ministry.

As an indication of the thought and style, we extract the following paragraph: —

"There is a recreant tendency in this age, growing partly out of men's weariness with mere verbal quibbling and sectarian subtilty, to set up the mystical and sentimental elements of our nature above thought and judgment; to say, 'Come, as we cannot be of the same mind, let us be of the same *mouth*, let us fall back upon the *form of sound words* (which I fear means, or would mean, rather the *sound* of *formal* words), let us rest in the sacred utterances of Scripture, and in the holy emotions they awaken, and thus realize again the blessed unity of the household of faith.' Plausible as this sounds, flattering as it is to

* The Simplicity of Christ's Teachings set forth in Sermons. By CHARLES T. BROOKS. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.

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weak or weary minds, it is not faithful to the wants of our age, it is not just to the spirit of truth. The idea that, precisely in that department of life which is the most important, we are to abjure and stifle that faculty of reason which is the highest thing in man, and meant to rule the whole man, will not bear to be looked at, must be seen at least through a mist, to produce any other effect than a repelling one on the minds of men. And the idea that any safer, surer, worthier union of Christian men is effected by merely consenting to confine our religious expression to certain sanctified forms and phrases, and holding in with a bridle the mouth of every question that instinctively rises, as to what we mean by them, than by simply and manfully owning that we do differ in our thought, and that therefore no language can fix the *final* expression and embodiment of our ever-growing theology, shows a sad want of the liberty wherewith Paul told his brethren, many centuries ago, that Christ makes his followers free." — pp. 87, 88.

THE sophistries by which the popular belief of plenary verbal inspiration of the Scriptures must be defended, are most eloquently and ingeniously employed in Dr. Candlish's new volume on "Reason and Revelation." * A fascinating rhetoric veils a logic which is equally shifting, inconsistent, and baseless. Admissions are made which nullify the argument, and the views of those who reject the theory of verbal inspiration are sometimes misstated and sometimes only half presented. The analogical illustrations, striking as they are, are yet deceptive, and rarely meet the objections which they pretend to refute. Will it be believed that so eminent a scholar as Dr. Candlish, who quotes in this very volume the original Greek of more than one classic author, and whose style indicates a broad and various culture, gravely argues to his readers, that where Paul says, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God," and where the Second Epistle of Peter says, "No scripture is of any private interpretation," they evidently meant the canon of the New Testament not less than of the Old? No hint, moreover, is given that the authorship of the Petrine Epistle was ever disputed, or that the reading of the passage in Paul's Epistle might be other than it is. The simple argument is, that Scripture is inspired, and the Apostles were inspired; therefore all the words of the Apostles are Scripture.

Some of Dr. Candlish's opinions will strike even orthodox readers as extraordinary. His representation of the Holy Ghost "revising" the work of the four Evangelists, and *purposely allowing* the errors and inconsistencies to stay in the narratives, that they might the better pass the ordeal of human criticism, — of God preferring falsehood to truth, — is an audacity which no rationalistic conjecture reaches. As discreditable to the Evangelists and Prophets is Dr. Candlish's notion, that they were made careless about their facts by a consciousness of inspiration, — that the greatness of their purpose made them indifferent as to the accuracy of their statements. "I can well believe," says he (p. 76), "that a man writing under the assurance of Divine guidance might be even less careful in matters of that sort than he would otherwise consider

* Reason and Revelation. By ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D., Edinburgh. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1859. 12mo. pp. 186.

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himself obliged to be; and *might take liberties in dealing with certain subjects*, which, if left to himself, he would by no means have considered it warrantable to take." And again, speaking of the use of the Old Testament in the New, which he admits to be wrong, he says: "I am persuaded that the New Testament teachers felt themselves at liberty to deal with the Old Testament as freely as they did, solely because they were — and because they knew that they were — under the control and superintendence of the Spirit of Truth, which would not suffer them to err." That is, the writers were so sure that they could not go wrong, that they did not care whether they went wrong or not, while the Holy Ghost, to which they trusted so implicitly, deliberately misguided them. We have seen no more blasphemous suggestion in any of those writers whom Dr. Candlish condemns and pities.

In discussing the geological objections to the Mosaic cosmogony, while Dr. Candlish manages to evade most of the points at issue, he makes some concessions which are unexpectedly gratifying from a divine of such orthodox principles. He admits that the Westminster Catechism, and the theologians who composed it, were all wrong about the creation of the world, and that science has fairly refuted them. But he holds that they were not inspired to interpret what Moses meant, and that they did not understand the words of Genesis. He maintains that Moses "reserved" his real views, and that his language was made ambiguous, so that it might fit the discoveries of succeeding ages, and be susceptible of various interpretation. Moses *does not oppose*, if he does not confirm, the discoveries of modern science. "The inspiring and superintending Spirit does not give him scientific information in advance of his age. But care is taken that, writing according to the scientific views of his age, he shall say nothing that is to be found ultimately incompatible or irreconcilable — in the judgment of any candid mind, duly considering the conditions of the problem — with what the advancing march of inquiry is to go on unfolding to the end of time." This is a convenient view, but scarcely orthodox.

In the third section of his book, on "Conscience and the Bible," Dr. Candlish signally shows his Jesuitical skill in confounding ideas by a play of fine words. The diction of this treatise is as splendid as its reasoning is specious and hollow. The fancy of an elongated diamond, of which "Law" is at the upper point, "Virtue" at the lower, and Conscience and the Bible at the right and left angles, only cheats the reader into a false distinction. The argument of Dr. Candlish, that the *moral law* of God is wholly different in kind from his physical and mental laws, that resting on positive literal precept, while this rests on mere inductions, and that obedience to the one is very different from obedience to the other, would be absurd, if it were not rather mischievous. Indeed, while the pretension of this volume is to vindicate the Holy Spirit and the Divine word, its whole tone is derogatory to the honor of the Almighty, and anything but reverent. It is able and strong, but the subtlety is even more marked than the ability. Such a book may hold to its theory those who are already prejudiced that way, but will certainly not win over intelligent unbelievers. The last sec-

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tion of the volume contains an address to young men, and an exhortation to inquire freely concerning all Scripture truth, only warning them most solemnly against the consequences of false conclusions, and the awful penalty of arriving at any opinion except that which the Holy Ghost has justified.

Books about China have been frequent of late years. Williams, Fortune, and Cooke have opened to us the interior of that land, in trade, politics, and religion, and Father Huc has elaborately told its Christian history. But in a small work of Mr. Edkins, which Routledge has just issued in excellent style,* there is more new and interesting matter than we had supposed it possible now to collect. Every one of the fifteen chapters is instructive. Mr. Edkins keeps himself modestly out of sight, but it is quite evident that he knows of what he is speaking, and that he is fit to treat a theme so difficult as the religious condition and prospects of China. His views on this subject differ in several important particulars from those of other writers. The Chinese, in his judgment, have three proper national religions, — the Confucian, the Buddhist, and the Taouist, each representing different tendencies of mind and feeling, each equally divine and worthy the people, and all together believed in by a large portion of the nation. The first of these is the *moral* religion, the second is the *metaphysical* or spiritual, and the third is the *sensual* religion. He traces the origin and progress of these different religions, and explains their systems of worship, their political relations, their influence upon literature and social life, their ideas of God, of duty, of sin and redemption, and of immortality and future judgment; illustrates the Confucian tenet of the worship of ancestors, the Buddhist notions of transmigration and of "Nirwana," and the Taouist deification of the stars; and altogether gives a much better view of the Chinese religious state than we have found in other writers. The ethical test which he says that the Chinese apply to all new religions seems to us very reasonable; though we can hardly expect that such a test — the test of *goodness* — will induce the followers of Confucius in any considerable numbers to forsake the faith which comes so near to the words of Christ, for the faith which is brought there under the name of Christianity which is so far from Christ's words. In the arguments which the Chinamen hold with the missionaries about the "Deity of Christ," and about "total depravity," the victory seems to us to rest very decidedly with the Pagans.

Very interesting details are also given about the Chinese Mohammedans, who number a million or more; about the little remnant of Jews, almost absorbed; and about the Roman Catholics in China. While Mr. Edkins questions some of Huc's statements, it is pleasant to find that he pays a hearty tribute to the labors and sacrifices of the Jesuits in China. His book is wholly free from bigotry.

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* The Religious Condition of the Chinese; with Observations on the Prospects of Christian Conversion amongst that People. By Rev. Joseph Edkins, B. A. London: Routledge. 1859. 16mo. pp. 296.

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A FORMER number of this journal * contained a notice of C. F. Koeppen's work on Buddhism. We have just received another volume by the same hand, † which may be regarded as in some sort a continuation of the former, and to which accordingly, by request of the publisher, an additional title, announcing a second volume of the work on Buddhism, has been prefixed. The present publication is an essay on Lamaism. The Lamaic religion, or rather the Lama Church of Tibet and Mongolia, is one distinct branch, and that the most flourishing, of the faith which calls itself the "Good Law," which originated on the banks of the Ganges five hundred years before the Christian era, and whose origin is ascribed by its own traditions to Çakyamuni, son of Suddhodama, king of Kapilavastu. As Buddhism bore the relation of Protestantism to the religion of the Vedas, so, on the other hand, Lamaism is the Catholicism or mediæval phase of Buddhism. A thousand years had elapsed since its first institution in India, where the Good Law penetrated the rock-bound wildernesses of Tibet, where, corrupted by Çiva worship, and blending with the native Shammaism, it founded the hierarchy of the Dalai and Grand Lamas, and developed a form of religion distinguished from pure Buddhism by belief in spirits and magic, by the union of civil with sacerdotal rule, by a married clergy and hereditary priesthood. This is Lamaism. Herr Koeppen has sketched its lineaments, and, so far as existing data would serve, has traced its fortunes with cautious hand, — confessing ignorance or uncertainty where the record faltered and the data failed, — and with that historic appreciation, and due accentuation of what is most significant and world-related, so remarkable in his former volume.

ESSAYS, ETC.

IT is a characteristic of tender and thoughtful minds, in common with uneducated minds, to be powerfully drawn to the realm of the marvellous, the weird border-land of spirit. Hundreds of books have been published filled with accounts of the mysterious phenomena that haunt that region, — magic, prophecy, possessions, ghosts, supernatural interferences of all kinds. A great many of these works we have ourselves read, and we believe Mr. Owen's new volume ‡ to be the best of them all. He has brought to his task superior literary skill, accurate scientific knowledge, admirable clearness and felicity of method and arrangement, and extreme fairness of spirit. To a complete familiarity with the subject he adds great patience of elaboration, and shows excellent judgment in selecting the best narratives in the right proportions of number, bulk, and variety. The result — placed before us in so fair a form by the great house of Lippincott — is a work of intense and fascinating interest, — a work which must take rank in literature,

* Christian Examiner, November, 1857, page 455.

† Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche. Von CARL FRIEDRICH KOEPPEN. Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider. 1859.

‡ Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World. With Narrative Illustrations. By ROBERT DALE OWEN. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 528.

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both for substance and form, far above the works of its class with which it may naturally be compared.

The fanciful, half-mystic title of the book — Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World — is happily chosen. The name corresponds with the thing. To all of us, undeniably, there is another world. But how much it differs in our varying conceptions! To the Buddhist, longing for Nirwana, the other world is the absolute unit of immovable sameness; to the idealist, it is the timeless and spaceless sphere of thought; to the sensational savage, it is the shadowy reproduction of the present scene thronged with noiseless, flitting shapes, fearful and lonely; to the religious believer, it is the home of happy souls, immortally blessed in a paradise made of all his consummated ideals; to the scientist, it is the kingdom of pure forces which break into *differentia* as they rise from the undistinguished infinitude of primordial being.

The world is full of marvels. Our minds teem with mysteries. Our experience is charged with presentiments and misgivings, as we move amidst secrets and warnings which our philosophy cannot explain. "To spirits transcendent of inferior spheres, nature is always ominous." The common scepticism of hard natures as to these things rests more on pride and insensibility than it does on reason and insight. Mr. Owen's book is calculated to win for the subject it handles with so much ability and skill the notice and the testing it deserves, but has not found. For as we go through his crowded chapters of startling phenomena and strange events, we are made to feel that our very lives run along the brinks of unseen realms, in close relationships with many a wonder felt but unfathomed. We are lifted out of gross materialism, brought into contact with pure forces, finer and swifter than light, touched with seeming recognition of ideal entities, and glimpses of pervasive laws, which strike the clogs from our faith and give it wings, helping us to embrace the solemn and sublime verities of God and immortality.

But admitting the occurrence of the phenomena described by Mr. Owen, we distrust the elucidation of them he suggests by the agency of disembodied spirits. As far as the empiric facts reach, this is an attempt to explain what is partly unknown by what is wholly suppositious, — what lies a little way out of our knowledge by what lies still farther out of our knowledge. For ourselves, we incline to the view that these mysterious revelations proceed from the opening of our minds into the other world, the contact of our psychical faculty with supersensual truth, rather than from the opening of the other world into our minds, the irruption of spirits into our souls. We have two chief reasons for thus looking to science instead of faith for the correct rendering of this obscure theme.

First, as we go back to the ages of barbarism, or travel now to savage tribes, we find a universal faith in the constant intervention of spirits in all sorts of ways and matters. Whatever their small knowledge is incompetent to account for, they immediately refer to spirits. But with the advance of experience and thought, with the attainment of philosophical classification, this faith is limited within even narrower

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lines, becomes fainter, until, among the most enlightened persons, as a general thing, it utterly dies out, or is only called in on the rarest occasions. This does not disprove, but it is a strong presumption against, the correctness of the first instinctive inference of the agency of spirits in all the phenomena otherwise inexplicable at present. That interpretation has been expelled, step by step, from other groups and ranges of phenomena: it will probably be expelled from these also in due time.

Secondly, the obverse or counterpart of the foregoing statement. With the progress of philosophy and science there has been a regular increase of rational explanations of facts and events within these mysterious portions of human experience. Many things once considered purely supernatural are now classified under intelligible laws. Many things not yet understood at all are, notwithstanding, believed to be simple effects of natural causes. Somnambulism and animal magnetism are now no more supposed miraculous than gravitation is, or the generation of thoughts and volitions in the cineritious and vesicular substance that covers the convolutions of the brain. A huge multitude of once singular and perturbing experiences have already been satisfactorily disposed of under various categories; — reminiscences of forgotten dreams; coincidences by the law of chances; ocular deceptions, illusions, hallucinations; duality of the mind, each hemisphere of the brain having, under certain conditions, a consciousness unsynchronous with that of the other; unconscious thinking, going through processes and projecting the results into consciousness without conscious will, those results thus appearing to be imparted from without. Even second-sight, perhaps the most portentous phenomenon of all, does not perforce imply the agency of an objective spirit, or a miracle. Prevision is a thing of degrees. We can foretell an eclipse by science, many other things by moral probability. Our usual powers of reason and foresight may be heightened in various ways beyond any given limits, and with the most astounding results. All events exist in their causes, and by a sufficiently endowed intelligence any consequence, however remote, may be reached by the successive links of inference. All things exist in God, to whom there is no past nor future. May not distant events loom upon our mental vision in *time*, as distant objects sometimes loom upon our physical vision in *space*? Rational explanation has spread out, little by little, over one province after another of experienced mysteries: it will probably also reach at length over the province we are now considering.

The philosophic thinking of each generation has to disperse the mass of superstition created by the preceding age, as each morning has to melt down the mighty cone of shadow projected by the previous night. And now, in parting from Mr. Owen's attractive and valuable work, laden in every chapter with curious interest and fresh suggestion, we would add a single thought. Many persons pass over what is frequent and obvious with scarcely a glance, but are quite absorbed by what is rare and strange, mistakenly reversing the true relative significance and importance of the two. It is a common error, pernicious in its

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influence, to neglect the normal for the exceptional, — to think the perturbations and abnormalities of the soul go deeper than its regular laws, and are more likely to carry the secret of our destiny. But in truth it is intrinsically no more marvellous that a clairvoyant should see the contents of a room a hundred miles off, than it is that the eye should seize and report the landscape immediately before it. The ordinary operations of the soul imply all that its extraordinary ones do. The common knowledge mastered by the mind is as wonderful and as inexplicable as its most unparalleled feat. The difference between free intelligent spirit and an unintelligent object is infinite. Nothing can make that difference greater. The law of attraction was deduced from the uniform motions of the planets, not from their puzzling deviations. We must look more in the open sunlight of the soul and its workings, less in its obscure gloom, for the imperial truths that await our conquest.

Mr. Gray's edition of Sir Philip Sidney's Miscellaneous Works was first published about thirty years ago; but we are not aware that it has ever before been reprinted in this country.* It comprises, however, everything which most readers will care to possess; for in spite of its occasional beauties, the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia is a production so tedious and prolix, that probably not more than ten or twelve persons now living have read the whole of it, and the translation of the Psalms of David, which passes under his name, was only executed in part by his hand. With these two exceptions, Mr. Gray's edition contains all the writings commonly ascribed to Sidney, together with a small but incomplete collection of his letters.

Mr. Gray's prefatory Memoir is an interesting and well-written production, though it is marked by a tone of excessive and ill-considered eulogy, and some of its dates are certainly erroneous. It is not easy, indeed, to determine the exact order of some of the events in Sidney's life, and in regard to them Mr. Gray's chronology is hopelessly confused. In speaking of Sidney's amour with Lady Rich, he shows a strong disposition to conceal some of the facts, and to give a false coloring to others, and he frankly avows his inability to perceive the licentious character of some of Sidney's poetical productions. Yet there are passages in Stella and Astrophel, and entire pieces in the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, which show very clearly that Sidney was not a man of high moral principles. The admiration with which he was regarded by his contemporaries has tended to give many persons at the present day an exaggerated estimate of his virtues. In all the manly accomplishments of that age he was a proficient: his courage was undoubted; his intellectual abilities were of a high order; his knowledge of literature was extensive; and he possessed a generous spirit. The memorable incident on the field of Zutphen was in perfect keeping with

* The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney, Kt. With a Life of the Author, and Illustrative Notes, by William Gray, Esq., of Magdalen College and the Inner Temple. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860. 8vo. pp. 380.

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his character. Yet he was not without faults, — the darkest of which was his connection with Lady Rich; and it is because Mr. Gray, and some more recent writers, have attempted to gloss over these faults, that we have thought it necessary to allude to the less attractive side of his character. His Defence of Poesy, and his Letter to Queen Elizabeth, are his best literary productions, and are among the best specimens of the prose literature of his age. His poetry is quaint and affected, though it contains some striking and beautiful passages; and several of his sonnets have been much admired.

THE two volumes named below * comprise a selection from Mr. Kingsley's papers in the North British Review and Fraser's Magazine, together with his four lectures on Alexandria and her Schools, the metaphysical dialogue entitled "Phaethon, or Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers," and a few other essays. The papers may be distributed into four classes, historical, critical, descriptive, and economical. Of the historical papers, that on Sir Walter Raleigh, we suppose, will be generally preferred, both on account of the special interest attaching to the subject, and on account of the enthusiasm with which Mr. Kingsley writes. His acquaintance with the Elizabethan age is ample, and his admiration of the great queen and her advisers is hearty; but he is inclined to exaggerate their real merits and services, and his praise must be taken with some qualification. His want of a judicial habit of mind, however, is even more apparent in a review of Froude's History of England, in which he fully accepts the extravagant views of that ingenious partisan writer in regard to the character of Henry VIII. Another paper belonging to the same class, which is deserving of especial notice, is an ably-argued essay under the title of "Plays and Puritans," designed to show that the Puritans were fully justified in their opposition to plays and playwrights, and that the dramatic literature of the age of the first two Stuarts was as foul as was that of the reign of Charles II. Among the purely critical papers, the most striking are those on Burns and his School, on the Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art, and on Alexander Pope and Alexander Smith. The lectures on the physical and metaphysical Schools of Alexandria are partly historical and partly critical. They do not, however, enter very deeply into the subject, and scarcely satisfy the expectations excited by the success of Mr. Kingsley's previous excursion into that attractive field. Under the designation of descriptive papers, we should include "My Winter Garden," which is little more than a picturesque and animated description of a fox-hunt; the pleasant account of fly-fishing, entitled, "Chalk-Stream Studies;" "Thoughts in a Gravel-Pit;" and, better than either of these, the series of sketches of scenery and character in

* 1. Sir Walter Raleigh and his Time, with other Papers. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Author of "Hypatia," "Two Years Ago," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1858. 12mo. pp. 461.

2. New Miscellanies. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 375.

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North Devon. Himself a native of that county, Mr. Kingsley dwells with filial interest on its grand and impressive features, and these charming pictures will have to many readers an irresistible fascination. There are also in the second volume several papers and lectures of a graver character, on sanitary reform and other important questions of the day, which show how wide have been Mr. Kingsley's studies, and how alive he is to the present wants of his countrymen. They fall into the department of economics in the classification which we have adopted for the purpose of this notice.

POETRY AND FICTION.

From Philadelphia, from Dr. Furness, comes to us a charming little volume.* The best we have yet seen of a somewhat numerous kind. A volume of translations of German poetry, as praiseworthy and remarkable for the choice and variety of the pieces selected, as it is for the truth and adequacy of the translations. It seems to us that we have never before seen so much and such diversely excellent poetry brought together within the same limits. Twenty poets are represented in these hundred and fifty pages, — most of them from the foremost rank of German lyrists; and most of the specimens are what the title promises, — gems of German verse. To say nothing of the better known pieces of Goethe and Schiller, — the immortal Dioscuri of their nation's literature, — the ballads of Uhland, the idyls of Chamisso, the songs of Heine, are redolent with the purest aroma of poesy.

The translations are mostly by Dr. Furness, and are worthy of their originals so far as the essential untranslatableness of what is best and most idiomatic in lyric poetry, and especially in German lyric poetry, will permit a comparison between the type and the antetype. The Song of the Bell, the most considerable piece in the volume, was translated and published some ten years since, and noticed in this journal at the time. It is now reproduced with great improvements, and is one of the best, if not the very best, rendering into English of that wondrous poem. But excellent as it is, considering the immense difficulty of the work, it is far surpassed, in our judgment, by the author's versions of The Minstrel's Curse, of The Lost Church, and of Woman's Love and Life. The last-named piece, by Chamisso, — a thing of exquisite pathos and beauty, presenting in nine parts the glory, the tragedy, and the moral of woman's life, — we have never seen translated before. We have but two objections to make to this admirable collection. One is, that some half-dozen more of well-known and approved translations are not embodied in it, and the other is, that some other version of Ritter Toggenburg has not been given in the place of the one from the Edinburgh Review, which strikes us as the poorest rendering we have ever seen of that beautiful ballad. In all other respects we again pronounce it the best collection known to us, within the same limits, of German poems rendered into English verse. As such, we cordially recommend it to the large and growing circle of students and admirers of German literature in this country.

* Gems of German Verse. By William H. Furness. A new Edition, revised and enlarged. Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard. 1860.

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A FEW years ago a sharp-tongued critic talked of "the exhausted receiver of a Dickens." But such a story as the "Tale of Two Cities"* makes it plain that our great household author has the natural abhorrence of a vacuum. It shows the same familiar power which so surprised and delighted us in the appearance of his first books. None of his later works quite brings back the enjoyment, quick and fresh like a discoverer's over some new force or wealth, which "Nicholas Nickleby" gave at first, and still at every re-reading gives by pleasant old association, as also by the intrinsic worth which makes it, for literary excellence, the best of its author's works. A friend who makes a point of reading it once a year often recalls to us, with a sort of gustatory fondness, as it were the smack of a *bon-vivant* in letters, the form and the interest of its republication here, and how we waited for the numbers, each in bright yellow covers, — for then that color had not its present bad eminence as of the yellow flag which marks infected and dangerous places, — with a quaint procession of the personages in the story, Ralph, Smike, Kate, and the rest, winding along the borders around the name "Boz" set conspicuously in the middle. That we understood to be the queer *nom* of the new man in literature who thus put forth an earnest of what he could do to serve rich and pure enjoyment to English and American homes. We all know with what wealth and purity of thought and sentiment, and with what fine humor and keen wit, he has since fulfilled his promise and our prophecy, with a long line of stories, of unequal excellence of course, but always received and read with interest and pleasure. Sometimes, to be sure, the sentiment lapsed into sentimentalism, which, indeed, has from the first been Dickens's danger and the spot upon his stories; and sometimes the pen moved heavily or the action advanced blunderingly and slovenly.

But no matter. "The good Homer" was not the first or the last to nod in his story-telling. And no story-teller of our day has had so large and various an audience, or so well kept them in good humor. None has so found the secret of taking the attention of all sorts of people, and of winning golden opinions from them. Others may have secured a smaller and a more exigent and discriminating set of friends, but none has pleased so many with a quiet, homelike, and innocent delight, which leaves one all the better for having felt it.

This last story of his may stand with "Barnaby Rudge" as his attempt toward the "Historical Novel," of which some of the famous Waverley set rank as types. The two cities are London and Paris, and it is in the latter that the story mostly proceeds, in the time of the great French Revolution, and the little while just preceding the breaking out of its terrors. It is on these terrors that the interest of the tale largely depends, involving, as they do, the principal characters within their dangerous sweep. The pleasant, serene home-life in England of good Dr. Manette, cheery banker Lorry, *émigré* Evrémond and his gentle Lucie, and grim-lovable Miss Pross, is the contrast to the horrors into which

* A Tale of Two Cities. By CHARLES DICKENS. Philadelphia: Peterson Brothers. 1860.

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the streets and prisons of Paris entrap them. It is the foil of peace and quiet against which presents itself the more terribly the hunger of the quarter St. Antoine turned to blood-thirst; the gloom of the dungeons and the silent misery of the victims of *lettres de cachet* in the Bastile, succeeded by massacres of the Republic's prisoners in La Force and the Conciergerie; and all the hideous seeming phantasm-play of tribunals, tumbrils and guillotine, espials, plots and counter-plots, Carmagnole dancing and *Ça ira* singing, swift destructions and sudden salvations, — which was indeed no play, but only too real, and in its grim reality flouts both history and fiction in their attempts to picture it forth in its own horrific features and colors.

It is no small praise of the book, that again and again it reminds the reader of that wonderful dramatic show of the Revolution, by which Carlyle, a few years ago, asserted his place among the great historians; an assertion, be it said in passing, followed up now and made good by the appearance of his "Frederick the Great," — a notable book, worthily called a history, which would make more noise, indeed, in the world, if it were of less value. It is no small praise of this novel, as being, in the indirect way of fiction, of some historical value, that thus it dramatically sets forth so strange and horrible a period with such vigorous portrayal, that, mere sketch though it be, we close the book with the feeling that it has, better than many staid narratives, brought us close to the strangeness and horror, and put us in relation with the mingling at that time, such as civilization never saw, of the grotesque and the sublime, of pitying ruth and merciless cruelty, of sense of justice and thirst of blood, and with all that forced union of opposites which marked the wrathful rising of the long-suppressed manhood of the people in ghastly companionship with that awful lust and energy of evil, which, when it shows itself in man, frightens the world with that something, at once lower than brutish for pitilessness and higher for power, which we call devilish.

The story is full of good things. That easily appreciated and much-liked quality is prominent in it, of a sustained and increasing excitement evenly kept up till it drops at the right place, on the last page. Especially to be noticed is the skill with which great social wrongs and their great revenges are incarnated in certain personages. Thus the Marquis stands for that godless tyranny and inhuman oppression of the people even below the beasts that perish, which brought down at last the sure retribution; and Dr. Manette for the helplessness of any who, under the old system of the nobles, chanced to cross their irresponsible wills. Madame De Sarge is the emblem of the irresponsibleness and mercilessness of the Revolution in its turn, when the long-stifled rage and long-borne suffering of the people turned upon their enemies; while her husband, with his Jaqueses of town and country, the Vengeance, and the wood-sawyer, represent the easily moulded material which long years of injustice had been storing up, for the fierce spirit of retaliation to direct when it should arise and work. Then, on the brighter side of the picture, let Sidney Carton be the symbol of that pure flame, kindled of the Infinite Love, which spreads

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its warmth and light often out of unlikeliest surroundings, and which we ought not to despair of finding, albeit the place show little promise of it, or be tired of seeking.

These typical characters are most skilfully moved through a narrative of exciting incidents and events, all admirably set forth, with progressive excitement of interest; — wherein is given an impression and faithful picture of that double time of wrong and retribution, in whose first years the father Mirabeau saw, in the people's faces, a look "as if the oppression of the great were like the hail and the thunder, a thing irremediable, the ordinance of Nature," but in whose last years the son Mirabeau saw that pain-stricken look change to a pain and terror striking, and the storm turned, now by veritable ordinance of nature and God's will, to beat upon the oppressors, and not now with "hail-stones," but with "coals of fire."

Therefore the story, exciting as it is, may serve as much instruction as amusement and interest. There are few of Dickens's stories which do not somehow lesson one in philanthropy, and show the *solidarité* of society. And in this "Tale of Two Cities," if not by the writer's intent, yet by the issue to those who think while they read, one finds the fable narrated of himself and pointing its moral to his time. For always individual carelessness of social duty, or the worse wilful wrong against social right, is the sowing for a bad harvest, of trouble if not of terror. It is true for American politics and society as for French, what may be quoted here as summing up the underlying serious admonition of the story: "There is not in France, with its rich variety of soil and climate, a blade, a leaf, a root, a sprig, a peppercorn, which will grow to maturity under conditions more certain than those which have produced this horror. Crush humanity out of shape once more, under similar hammers, and it will twist itself into the same tortured forms. Sow the same seed of rapacious license and oppression over again, and it will surely yield the same fruit according to its kind."

The three stories in the new volume which bears the name of Grace Kennedy* are all marked by the most narrow dogmatism, the most weak and inconclusive reasoning, and the most amazing misstatement of the position of those who differ from the author. The title of the first story is dishonest. Instead of being a "Roman Catholic Story," it is an Anti-Roman-Catholic Story, holding up the Roman Church to the contempt of readers for its falsehood, its superstition, its perversion of Scripture, and its Jesuitical stratagems. The position of that Church is entirely misrepresented, and the process by which its members are converted to Calvinism seems to us a process by which no intelligent Catholic could ever be moved. The type of faith which Grace Kennedy offers as Scriptural, and the saving substitute for the various forms of error, seems to us incomparably inferior to any of those

* Father Clement. A Roman Catholic Story. — Profession is not Principle. — Decision, or Religion must be All, or is Nothing. By Grace Kennedy. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 464.

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forms. It is simply that contrivance of artificial religion, "experience," which compels a man to imaginary misery, to be followed by a more illusory rapture, which impresses him with "convictions of sin," the more poignant that he cannot connect these with any remembered acts or feelings.

The second and third stories are cast in a dramatic form, though their contents are essentially didactic and polemic, and they are scarcely anything more than tiresome theological discussions. We hardly think it worth while to condemn emphatically stories which are too tedious to be read. The Calvinistic piety must be of a sublimated type, to endure such prolonged debates about the best method of converting sinners and saving the soul. From Mrs. Sherwood's pious tales it was possible for a reader to eliminate the theology, and to skip the discussions. But from Grace Kennedy's more pretentious stories it is impossible to make such an elimination. The story is only a mild infusion, not enough to color the mixture or to flavor the dose. Grace Kennedy is nothing if not pious, if not orthodox. Her characters must talk religion, think religion, dream religion, have it for meat and drink and exercise, ventilate it in walking, riding, or wherever they may happen to be; religion is not only the one thing needful, but it is the one thing perpetually present in its dogmatic form. The chief object of life with her is to meditate, discuss, and prove the orthodox scheme of salvation. It is edifying to contrast such stories as these with the stories of Mrs. Stowe, and such theology as this with the theology of Catherine Beecher, and to be assured that its republication will not stop the progress of free thought.

THE Curate and the Rector * is not a powerful novel, but is nevertheless very entertaining, with some good satire, and a great deal of pleasant talk. It shows up the absurdities of the High-Church party, and descants upon the worldliness, vanity, and pride of the aristocratic clergy, as typified by the family of Dr. Plufty, the Rector. The Curate, on the contrary, and his interesting family, are made to show the true type of genuine piety and self-sacrificing devotion. Though the plot is not unskilfully woven and brought to its *dénouement*, yet the main interest of the book is found in its humorous descriptions of men and manners, and the glimpse it affords of life within the parsonages of England. Of course these descriptions must be taken with large allowance. We are not quite ready to accept Dr. Plufty as an average specimen of a respectable Church clergyman, and we doubt if such simple-hearted saints as the Rev. Mr. Slender are very numerous in the small curacies. The noble characters of the story, too, do rather strange things, but, in the end, the wrongs are all made right; the Curate and the Rector change places; virtue is rewarded, and pride has a fall; Margaret Slender becomes the wife of a rich nobleman, while Miss Plufty accepts the hand of a vulgar "Muggins"; and one feels at the close that there may be too much of a good thing.

* The Curate and the Rector. A Domestic Story. By ELIZABETH STRUTT. London: Routledge. 1859. 12mo. pp. 480.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

PROF. RICHARDSON'S "Plea for the Restoration of the True System of Latin Pronunciation"* is on the whole well argued. He has illustrated very thoroughly the incongruities and absurdities of the pronunciation at present in vogue, calling attention also to the variations and inconsistencies which prevail in different schools and different parts of the country. The threefold question then arises, What is the true pronunciation? would it be possible to restore it? would it be well to restore it? As to the practicability of the change, he informs us that he has himself now for seven years successfully employed in his classes what he conceives to be the true system. One such experiment is enough; we will merely add, that it needs only the authority of any one college to direct the usage of the schools that fit for that college, and that whatever system Harvard and Yale should adopt would be followed at once throughout New England at least. This is proved by the almost universal change in the pronunciation of Greek made of late in the schools that fit for Harvard. The question of the true method of pronunciation is answered at considerable length, and generally satisfactorily. We will briefly state his system, with his arguments where it is necessary. The long vowels are of course those found in the English words *ah*, *fane*, *flee*, *tone*, and *moon*. For the short vowels he gives in illustration the words *ăh*, *fate*, *fleet*, *note*, and *boot*, on the principle that "these vowels, while differing in quantity, do not differ *radically* in quality." The slight difference in the vowel-sounds of these English words arises entirely from the necessary protraction of sound on the letter *n*, or in the long final vowel; also in any soft or middle mute, as in the words *fade*, *mood*, *lobe*, as contrasted with the sharp consonant-sounds in *fate*, *moot*, and *elope*. This is all clear and consistent. It is, however, so far as shown, pure assumption on his part that the pronunciation of the ancient languages had the uniformity and simplicity which he claims. The analogy of modern languages certainly does not bear it out, although it must be owned that in other respects the ancient languages have these qualities in a much higher degree than the modern. We see no reason, therefore, for rejecting the common practice of making a slight difference in *quality*, as well as *quantity*, between the long and short vowels, as in Italian and German; e. g. as the long and short vowels in the German words *Staat* and *Stadt*, *Dehn* and *den*, *Miethe* and *mit*, the English *rode* and the Yankee pronunciation of *road*, *food*, and *wood*. In his pronunciation of *Y* (the Greek *υ*) as equivalent to the French *u*, we are disposed to agree with him; also in the diphthongs; i. e. *æ* as the English *aye*; *au* like *ow* in *now*; *œ* like *oi* in *Stoic*. *Ei* and *eu* went for the most part out of use; their sounds he thinks to have been an actual compound of the two vowel-sounds. *Ou* was supplanted by *u*, to which it was equivalent; *ui*, in the few cases where it is found, had the sound of *we*.

* Roman Orthoëpy: a Plea for the Restoration of the True System of Latin Pronunciation. By JOHN F. RICHARDSON, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in the University of Rochester. New York: Sheldon and Company. 1859. 16mo. pp. 114.

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Only a few of the consonants present any difficulty. *C* and *G* he makes uniformly hard; *J*, equivalent to our *Y*; *Q V*, to *K*; *S* always sharp, and *T* always hard. The semivowel *V* is no doubt equivalent to our *W*, as he assumes; but it is not strictly correct to say, that the Greeks uniformly represented it by *ου*; it is sometimes represented by *β*, e. g. Ῥέαν Σιλβίαν, in Strabo, V. 229, and this fact has been adduced to prove that *β* was aspirated, as in Modern Greek, like our *v*. Still this fact does not weigh in face of the numberless instances of the other usage. With regard to *Q*, we think he is mistaken. The passage from Priscian, I. 4, which he cites as conclusive, seems to us to prove just the contrary. Priscian's language is that *Q* is employed for no other purpose "nisi ut ostendat sequens *u* ante alteram vocalem in eadem syllaba positam perdere vim litteræ in metro." It will be observed, that, according to Priscian, the force of the *u* is lost *in the metre*; to show that it is not lost in the sound, as Prof. Richardson infers, he goes on to compare it with *G*, where the force of *u* is also lost in the metre, —. "Dicimus enim *anguis* sicuti *quis*, et *angur* sicuti *cur*." His other arguments certainly cannot weigh against the uniform rendering of *Quintus* and *Quintius* in the Greek writers by Κόιντος, Κοΐντος, Κύιντος, Κοΐντιος, and Κυΐντιος; we have met with many analogous cases, as Κυιρῖται for *Quirites* in Dio Cassius. We have also seen *qvra* for *cura* on an inscription on the Appian Way, of the second century B. C. It seems to us, also, that the statement in Quintilian, I. 7. 27, that *quoi* was formerly written for *cui*, "tantum ut ab illo *qui* distingueretur," would be naturally understood to mean that, its sound being identical with that of *qui*, it was spelt differently to distinguish it in writing. With regard to *C*, however, we must own ourselves converted by the explicit statements of Quintilian and Priscian which he quotes, as well as by his illustrations, — the reduplication of *cano* and *cado*, the euphonic change in *accipio*, the syncopation *doctum*, the imperatives *fac* and *dic*, &c. We should, however, like to have one or two facts explained which have always seemed to us to render it probable that before *e* and *i* the sound of *c* was softened, either into *ch*, as in Italian, *ts*, as in German, or *s*, as in French. First is the remarkable fact that all languages derived from Latin do thus soften the sound, — a fact which should weigh as much on this side as it would on the other, if the Greek κ were uniformly pronounced hard in Modern Greek. But we have heard that the modern name of *Citium* in Cyprus is *Tsitti*, and will relate an anecdote within our own experience to illustrate this point. Any person who has passed along the road between Eleusis and Megara will remember the peculiar mountain with a double peak which overhangs the road, called by the ancients Κέρατα, *the horns*. Wishing to ascertain whether this name was still in use, we asked our driver, when in sight of this peak, its name. Κέρατα was his answer, sounding the κ as the English *ch*. (We should add, however, that the driver was an Albanian.) From these facts we might perhaps assume that κ was soft before *e* and *i*, as well as the Latin *c*. The common interchange of *c* and *t* in such words as *Marcius*, *nuncius*, &c., might go to show that *t* was not always hard, but was softened before certain

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sounds exactly as in these words, for instance, in modern pronunciation. Again, as he has brought up a pun of Cicero to prove the identity of sound of *quoque* and *coque*, we can adduce one from Plautus on this head (*Amph.* 383). When Mercury, in the guise of Sosias, had beaten the real Sosias to the point of denying his own identity, the dialogue continues: —

"*Mer.* Amphitruonis te esse aiebas Sosian.
Sos. Peccaveram: nam illut 'Amphitruonis socium' me esse volui dicere."

If ancient puns were as forced as modern, however, it would not be safe to argue much from them.

Having fully discussed the true pronunciation of Latin, our author proceeds to advance arguments for adopting it in practice. He adduces nine good reasons, only one of which, the most striking, we will state; i. e. that it "is the only system on which Latin poetry can be correctly read." "To read Latin, and especially Latin poetry, correctly, we must give each syllable of each word its just measure of sound." It is well known how strict the modern Italian is in quantity, how a vowel-sound is protracted before two consonants, thus becoming really long, an effect which cannot possibly be given in the current pronunciation of Latin, because English vowels have no quantity. No doubt it was the same in Latin, a long syllable being really equal to two short ones. Here he claims, and illustrates by many ingenious examples, that practically all long vowels in Latin were formed by composition or contraction from the short ones. And on this rests the whole beauty of Latin verse. Let any person scan a line of poetry in this way, and he will see that scanning, instead of being an uncouth and senseless breaking up of the verse into feet, is its true reading, and that its flowing and harmonious rhythm can only thus make itself manifest. Certainly such a change as this would eminently aid in enabling to appreciate the peculiarities and beauties of Latin poetry, — a gain to our scholarship which can hardly be too highly rated, if it is the spirit and real life of antiquity, not its dry shell, that we need. After all, the practical solution of this difficult problem must be left to our universities, and no change is practicable or desirable unless inaugurated by these.

A GOODLY octavo of six hundred and seventy-two pages gives us a minute "History of Dorchester," from its settlement down to the present time, with notices of about eleven hundred families, prepared by a Committee of the Dorchester Antiquarian Society.* Artless as the narrative is, composed under the disadvantage of different editors, irregular times of publication, and the loss of a few leaves from the commencement of the Town Record, it is yet a contribution of great value to the early history of New England. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Rev. Dr. Harris published the first history of the community to which he ministered so long and so well; but, not satisfied with this imperfect account of "the pioneer plantation

* History of the Town of Dorchester. Boston: Ebenezer Clapp, Jr. 1859.

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of the Bay," the latter years of his life were devoted to gathering materials for an ampler narrative, which illness and death prevented him from giving to the world. The "Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society," instituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving all the interesting remains of village life through more than two centuries, here make their fourth report to the public, having previously published Clap's Memoirs, Blake's Annals, and Richard Mather's Journal.

They have done their work wisely and well. Many incidents that must have faded from memory erelong, many experiences that are exceedingly instructive, many of the most important steps of social development, they have recorded for the gratification and instruction of their children and children's children; and the subject was worth all their zeal, patience, and energy. The Dorchester Town Record takes precedence of any other in the State. Free schools were first publicly supported by direct tax in this community. The town organization under twelve selectmen began this method of simple government. No town was more extensive, as its original length was thirty-five miles. For many years it was the banner town of the Bay State, paying the largest tax, claiming the pre-eminence on training-days, promising itself to be the seaport of New England, and particularly distinguished for zeal in defence of its liberties. Before the Declaration of Independence, when there were only fifteen hundred inhabitants in Dorchester, it was voted in town meeting, that, "if the Continental Congress think it best to declare an independency with Great Britain, we will support them with our lives and fortunes." Recruits were supplied freely during the whole Revolutionary war. In 1777, one third of the townsfolk above sixteen were in the army. In 1780, Dorchester voted £40,000 to hire soldiers; and at the close of the same year, as much more to buy beef for the army. Part of the town lands were sold to raise money for the good cause, and collections made for the same purpose from house to house.

The church history in this volume is exceedingly rich, quaint, and instructive. The well-kept and very ancient burial-ground adds no little amusement, by the oddity of its rhythmical inscriptions. Would that the sale of this really valuable contribution to a portion of history, of which we do well to be proud, might furnish funds to this excellent Society to place their rich collection in a fire-proof building, away from its present exposure to daily destruction, — if possible, amid such attractions as would engage the young in its service, enlarge its treasures, and make it a model for associations of the kind, as it has a model history to commemorate.

THE new work of Étienne Chastel* has not, so far as we yet know, received the honor which his former works, on the "Downfall of Paganism," and the "Influence of Charity in the First Christian Ages," ob-

* Le Christianisme et l'Église au Moyen Age. Coup d'Œil Historique. Par ÉTIENNE CHASTEL. Paris: Joël Cherbuliez. 1859. 12mo. pp. 370.

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tained, of being *crowned* by the French Institute; but it well deserves such an honor. It is the best sketch of the history of Christianity in the Middle Age that we have ever seen, in the compass of a single volume; the most comprehensive, discriminating, impartial, and intelligent. The plan is philosophical, the style pure and flowing, and the spirit of the work eminently Christian. A concise Preface modestly apologizes for so short a work on so large a theme. Then follows a treatise upon the Greek Church, in which the causes of the schism and of the decline of that branch of Christendom are admirably delineated; then of the Latin Church, in its external contests with Paganism, Mohammedanism, and Judaism, and its interior development from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries in polity, civil relations, rites, ethics, and theological science; and finally, five chapters on the various forms of reaction in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, political, ecclesiastical, scientific and literary, mystic and evangelical, with a brief *résumé* at the close.

In dealing with a theme like this, a strong Protestant like M. Chastel might be excused for occasional exaggeration of the mistakes, weaknesses, and crimes of the ruling ecclesiastical power. But we have found very little in the volume to which a fair-minded Catholic could take exception. While he does not hide the vices of the men, he does not make the system responsible for these vices, or lay upon the Church the burden of all the sins of its adherents. He deals with these fairly. Perhaps he somewhat overstates the neglect of the Bible in the fourteenth century, and he attaches more weight than we are willing to allow to the "Evangelical" reaction. But his book is a rare specimen of judicial candor. Its statement of facts is as honorable as its groupings are masterly. The errors are very few, and not important. It is not quite exact, we think, to say that Bernard *twice*, at distant periods, arraigned Abelard before councils as a heretic. The first arraignment, in 1121, was not the work of Bernard. The interpretation which M. Chastel gives to the Catholic dogma of atonement, that *original* sin was expiated on Calvary, *actual* sin by the daily sacrifice of the Mass, though taught by some writers, was not, we think, the positive doctrine of the Church. Catholic, not less than Protestant dogma, gives a prospective value to the sacrifice on Calvary.

In any work from the pen of Dr. Murray we may expect a hearty bigotry, an intense positiveness, an easy, off-hand, dashing style, and very frequent violations of refined taste. His latest work, "Preachers and Preaching,"* has these characteristics in excess, and adds to them edifying inconsistencies of statement. Yet, in spite of its defects, it is a very entertaining book, racy, sprightly, full of humor, and has merits enough to much more than balance its defects. Its criticisms in the main are just, and its advices judicious. Dr. Murray is not afraid to expose in good Saxon English the mistakes of preachers, and the mean-

* Preachers and Preaching. By Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 303.

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ness of parishes, or to vindicate the profession from the charges made loosely against it. He is a conservative in theology, and is a zealous believer in the fitness of the old ecclesiastical routine; yet he would have ministers to be *live* men, and he has no charity for stupid or inert preaching. His book treats almost every topic which can come up in connection with the ministry; tells the "brethren" not only how they ought to preach, but how they ought to visit, to study, to take care of their bodies, to pray, and to catechise; discusses revivals, itinerancy, change in the pastoral relation, singing, Sunday schools, Christian union; and, if the treatment of the various points were not so rambling and hasty, would exhaust the subject. It abounds in illustrations, many of them evidently fictitious, but many more, we imagine, real cases which have come under Dr. Murray's observation. It is to be regretted that his range of observation is not wider, that he is constrained to take his examples of able preachers mainly from the Presbyterian communion, and that his quoted names carry with them so little weight by their general reputation. Dr. Murray would never cite a Romanist, or a Universalist, or a Unitarian, as an instance of what a preacher ought to be. He is pained, moreover, to think that so many preachers are "unconverted," and the view which he gives of this *unconverted* class does not lead us to think favorably of the Presbyterian system. He is not friendly to the conscientious changes of fields of labor which are based on offers of larger salaries; yet he thinks that ministers ought to be paid well, paid punctually, and paid by salaries rather than by donation visits. Those who are called at ordinations to give "charges," whether to the minister or to the "people," may find in Dr. Murray's book an ample storehouse of timely suggestions, capital hits, and practical ideas, which can be improved with profit. It will stimulate the diaphragm, and prove an excellent specific in a fit of low spirits.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THEOLOGY.

Restatements of Christian Doctrine, in Twenty-five Sermons. By Henry W. Bellows. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 434. (Reviewed, p. 221.)

Select Sermons, preached in the Broadway Church. By Rev. E. H. Chapin, D. D. New York: Henry Lyon. 12mo. pp. 348. (To be noticed.)

The Still Hour; or, Communing with God. By Austin Phelps. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 18mo. pp. 136.

An Appeal to the People in behalf of their Rights as authorized Interpreters of the Bible. By Catherine E. Beecher. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 380.

Saint Paul: Five Discourses by Adolphe Monod. Translated from the French by Rev. J. H. Myers. Andover: W. F. Draper. 12mo. pp. 191.

The Nonesuch Professor in his Meridian Splendor; or, The Singular Actions of Sanctified Christians, laid open in seven Sermons, at All-Hallow's Church, London-Wall. By William Secker. To which is added, The Wedding Ring, a Sermon by the same Author. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 320.

The Path which led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church. By Peter H. Burnett. New York: D. Appleton. 8vo. pp. 741.

The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew. By George Rawlinson. From the London Edition, with the Notes translated, by Rev. A. N. Arnold. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 454.

Christ in History. By Robert Turnbull, D. D. New and revised Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 540.

Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. Edited, with an Analysis, by J. T. Champlin. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. pp. 278.

ESSAYS, ETC.

Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct. By Samuel Smiles. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 363.

Life Without and Life Within; or, Reviews, Narratives, Essays, and Poems. By Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Edited by Arthur B. Fuller. Boston: Brown, Taggard, & Chase. 12mo. pp. 424.

The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection; or, The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 432. (To be reviewed.)

Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1860. Edited by David A. Wells. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 430. (To be noticed.)

Essays, Critical and Miscellaneous. By T. Babington Macaulay. New and revised Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 744.

Lectures on the English Language. By George P. Marsh. New York: Charles Scribner. 8vo. pp. 697.

Doctor Oldham at Greystones, and his Talk there. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 342.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Eighteen Christian Centuries. By the Rev. James White. With a

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copious Index. From the Second Edinburgh Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Post 8vo. pp. 538.

The Gospel in Burmah; the Story of its Introduction and marvellous Progress among the Burmese and Karens. By Mrs. Macleod Wylie. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 332.

Life and Times of General Samuel Dale, the Mississippi Partisan. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 233.

The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Close of the First Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress. By J. H. Patten. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 806.

Revolutions in English History. By Robert Vaughan, D. D. Vol. I. Revolutions of Race. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 563.

Sketches of New England Divines. By Rev. D. Sherman. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo. pp. 448.

Life of Rev. Adam Clarke. By J. W. Etheridge. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo. pp. 487.

The Christian Lawyer; being a Portraiture of the Life and Character of William George Baker. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo. pp. 320.

Autobiography of Dan Young, a New England Preacher of the Olden Time. Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo. pp. 380.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL.

The Voyage of the Fox in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions. By Captain McClintock. With Maps and Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 12mo. pp. 375.

Life in Spain, Past and Present. By Walter Thornbury. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 388.

A Trip to Cuba. By Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 18mo. pp. 251. (A pleasant series of sketches, "reprinted, with large additions, from the Atlantic Monthly.")

POETRY.

Poems of Two Friends. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 16mo. pp. 132.

Poems by the Author of John Halifax, &c. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Poems by Sydney Dobell. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 32mo. (Blue and gold.)

Wolfe of the Knoll, and Other Poems. By Mrs. George P. Marsh. New York: Charles Scribner. 12mo. pp. 327.

NOVELS AND TALES.

Seven Years, and Other Tales. By Julia Kavanagh. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 423.

The same. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 8vo. paper.

Misrepresentation. By Anna H. Drury. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 8vo. paper.

Mary Staunton; or, The Pupils of Marvel Hall. Second Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 398.

Twenty Years Ago and Now. By T. S. Arthur. Philadelphia: G. G. Evans. 12mo. pp. 307.

Lucy Crofton. By the Author of "Margaret Maitland," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 222.

Holmby House; a Tale of Old Northamptonshire. By G. J. Whyte Melville. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 8vo. pp. 224.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

A Dictionary of the English Language. By Joseph E. Worcester, LL. D. Boston: Hickling, Swan, & Brewer. 4to. pp. 1854. (To be reviewed in May.)

A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn. By Jacob Bigelow, President of the Corporation. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 263.

Morphy's Games; a Selection of the best Games played by the distinguished Champion in Europe and America; with Analytical and Critical Notes, by J. Löwenthal. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 473.

Harper's Greek and Latin Texts. 24mo. 1. Æschylus. 2. Horace. (Flexible covers; compact, clear, and handsome text.)

The New Sabbath-School Minstrel; a Choice Collection of Music and Hymns. New York: Sheldon & Co. 32mo. pp. 64.

Home Pastimes; or, Tableaux Vivants. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 264.

JUVENILE.

Bible Stories in Bible Language. Square 16mo. pp. 197. — Martha's Hooks and Eyes. 18mo. pp. 129. — Baby Night-Caps. 18mo. pp. 140. — New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Home Songs for Little Darlings. Boston: Mayhew & Baker. 24mo. pp. 208.

Harry's Summer in Ashcroft, with Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. Square 16mo. pp. 204.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 201.

History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia. By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 368.

Stories from Famous Ballads for Children. By Grace Greenwood. With Illustrations by Billings. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 24mo. pp. 141.

PAMPHLETS.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in Lowell, to the Lowell Missionary Society. Lowell: Samuel D. Merrill. pp. 34.

Fourth Annual Report on Loan Fund Associations, by the Insurance Commissioners. Jan. 1, 1860. Boston: William White. pp. 16.

Trinitarianism not the Doctrine of the New Testament. Two Lectures delivered partly in review of Rev. Dr. Huntington's Discourse on the Trinity, in the Hollis Street Church, Jan. 7 and 14, 1860. By T. S. King. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. pp. 48.

The Ancient and the Modern Teacher of Politics. An Introductory Discourse to a Course of Lectures on the State. By Francis Lieber. New York. pp. 35.

Review of Governor Banks's Veto of the Revised Code, on Account of its authorizing the Enrolment of Colored Citizens in the Militia. By F. W. Bird. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. pp. 62.

Tracts for the Times. Vol. II. No. I. Cornering Religion. By Rev. C. A. Bartol. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. pp. 11.

Fraternity Tracts, 1 – 6. Selected from the Writings of Theodore Parker.

The Scripture Doctrine of Christ. Three Sermons, by Andrew P. Peabody. Portsmouth: J. F. Shores and J. H. Foster. pp. 32.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MAY, 1860.

Art. I. — THE APOCALYPSE ANALYZED AND EXPLAINED.

Kritisch Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, von Dr. Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer, Consistorialrath in Hannover. Sechzehnte Abtheilung. *Die Offenbarung Johannis.* Bearbeitet von Dr. Friedr. Düsterdieck. Göttingen. 1859.

The Commentary on the Apocalypse, by Düsterdieck, completes the work of Meyer on the New Testament, — one of the most thorough, learned, and impartial critical and exegetical commentaries on the whole of the New Testament which has ever been made. Of those which have appeared in modern times, none except that of De Wette can be compared with it for thorough research and critical accuracy. It looks every difficulty full in the face, and no theory of infallible inspiration or system of ecclesiastical dogmas hinders it from pronouncing what the meaning of the writer is. No English commentary exists which is throughout so free from dogmatical bias. Here you may find the views of a scientific interpreter of the New Testament on the meaning of Paul or Peter or John, uninfluenced by the consideration whether these writers agree with each other, or with any formula resting on ecclesiastical authority. We suppose that scholars of every denomination of Christians would agree in the opinion that the Commentaries of Meyer and De Wette surpass any that are extant in closeness and accuracy of interpretation, and in fulness of learning in regard to all the circumstances and opinions which prevailed in the time of the writers of the New Testament. It is not

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inconsistent with this opinion, that, of the modern German commentaries, Olshausen's has been selected for translation into our language. For, however valuable the latter may be for general spiritual insight, and a certain mystical depth in the author, no one has ever supposed that his opinion was entitled to respect in a nice matter of grammar, criticism, or exegesis. We do, however, consider his commentary a useful one. A young clergyman would do well to purchase it in the American translation; but, if he can read German, he ought to place Meyer's or De Wette's at the side of it. Which of the two latter is to be recommended, in case one only should be purchased, we have our doubts. Each has its peculiar excellences and faults. In regard to the genuineness of books, Meyer relies more on authority, and less on his mere historical sense, than De Wette. In exegetical tact and lucid method, the latter seems to deserve the preference. He also commented on the whole New Testament, while Meyer intrusted several books to other hands. From dogmatical bias both are in a remarkable degree free. In regard to the Trinity, for instance, neither of them would have any more faith in it, if he found it in John or or Paul, than if he found it in Aristotle or Plato. The great object with each is to find out the meaning of the writer, and to represent it in the closest manner in connection with his own mode of thought, without translating it into the doctrinal language of modern times. It might be interesting to inquire what results are arrived at, in regard to several doctrinal points, by the two most recent and distinguished scientific expositors of the Scriptures in Germany, but it would be foreign from the purpose of this article. We will only mention that neither of them finds either the doctrine of the Trinity, or the identity of Christ with the Supreme Being, in the New Testament; though both of them maintain that pre-existence, in some sense, is ascribed to him in the writings of John and Paul.

We regret that the pressure of his engagements did not allow Dr. Meyer to write the Commentary on the Apocalypse. For though the plan and principles of its interpretation are what he would have followed, we miss the compact form, the lucid style, and the entire freedom from theoretic bias, which mark the commentaries on those books of the New Testament upon which Meyer himself has labored.

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In general, however, Dr. Düsterdieck, to whom the work of explaining the Apocalypse was committed, has pursued the same path, and arrived at nearly the same results, with the scientific expositors who have shed so much light on this remarkable book in modern times, such as Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette. He has wholly abandoned the method of allegorical interpretation, which creates a series of definite predictions merely to show a pretended fulfilment of them in the history of the Church and the world. He seeks an explanation of the book only from the circumstances and opinions which were present to the mind of the writer, and from the received use of language in his own day. No arbitrary interpretation of symbolical language by historical events, which were beyond the sphere of the writer's human vision, or beyond the political horizon in which he lived, is allowed. In other words, Dr. Düsterdieck applies to the elucidation of the Apocalypse the same principles of interpretation which are employed in ascertaining the meaning of all other writings. His constant refutation of the opinions of such writers as Hengstenberg, Hofmann, Ebrard, and others, who have more or less understood the language of the Apocalypse in an allegorical sense, — i. e. a hidden sense, of which the writer himself was unconscious, — gives a value to the work for the theological inquirer, though it interrupts the positive unfolding of the meaning of the book.

Dr. Düsterdieck, indeed, is not willing to allow that he views the Apocalypse from the same stand-point with Ewald, De Wette, and Lücke. But it seems to us that the difference, if any, is of no practical importance. He says "he cannot regard the Apocalypse as in all respects a perfect product of the Christian or prophetic spirit." Though he regards the writer as inspired, yet is his inspiration consistent with error, and his book of far less dignity than the writings of the Apostles. He supposes the work to be the production, not of John the Evangelist, but of an unknown writer of the same name, who wrote the book a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem, very early in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian. On the whole, we are very glad to have a commentary on the Apocalypse from a writer of reputed orthodoxy like Dr. Düs-

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terdieck, in which right principles and a just method of interpretation are followed out, and in which essentially the same results are arrived at as in the writings of Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette.

We propose, in the remainder of this article, to speak briefly of the kind of composition to which the Apocalypse belongs, and its practical design, and to give an analysis, and, to some extent, an explanation, of the subject or contents of the book. We shall also point out the difference between the views of Dr. Düsterdieck and those of De Wette and Lücke, — with which latter in general we agree, — on one or two interesting points.

We are aware of the general feeling in regard to the Apocalypse, as a mysterious and unintelligible book. It was said of Calvin, by Scaliger, that he showed his wisdom in *not* writing a commentary on the Apocalypse. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that writers without number have shown folly enough in what they have written upon it. The world has continued to go on in its even course, while expositor after expositor who has predicted its dissolution from the mystic pages of the Apocalypse has gone down to the dust, his time-exploded theory remaining only as a monument of wasted labor and perverted talent.

Whether it be possible to explain this remarkable book to the entire satisfaction of minds destitute of literary culture, may admit of a question. But it seems to us that, since the time of Eichhorn, there has been no difficulty in the way of persons accustomed to reading and reflection, to prevent their arriving at tolerably correct views of the nature and meaning of this wonderful production. Notwithstanding the errors into which that distinguished scholar fell in regard to the species of composition to which the Apocalypse belongs, and in regard to the meaning of some particular parts of it, to him belongs the great merit of putting the exposition of the work on a right foundation. The secret of his success was in giving up old theories in respect to the interpretation of prophetic language, and in regarding the Apocalypse as a human composition, to be explained on the same principles of interpretation as all other books, and in view of the historical circumstances, the religious opinions, which were present to the mind of the

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writer, and the forms of thought and composition which existed in his time. Especially he abandoned the theory that the meaning of a prediction can be ascertained by distant *events*, and proceeded on the true view of regarding the Apocalypse as containing the subjective views of the writer,—which might, or might not, be justified by the occurrence of contingent or historical events.

Eichhorn regarded the Apocalypse as a drama, or rather as a spectator's description of a drama. In this opinion he has been followed by none of the learned modern expositors. It is not justified by a consideration of the class of Hebrew writings from which it sprung, nor by a careful survey of the contents of the book. It is true that the meaning of the writer is conveyed in the language of symbols, addressed, as it were, to the sense of sight. There is a sort of scenical representation. But it is for the most part a representation of prophetic symbols rather than of actual occurrences, and of general ideas rather than of particular actions. The attempt to bring it under the categories of classic or modern literature, and reduce it to the form of a drama, marking out the prolusion, the intermediate acts, and the conclusion, overlooks the kind of literature from which it sprung, and serves only to confuse the reader, and to add darkness rather than light to the composition. It is pure hypothesis, and proceeded from one who was never at a loss for an ingenious theory on any subject.

No better success has attended the efforts of those who have regarded the Apocalypse as an epic poem; though undoubtedly it has some features which belong to that species of poetic composition.

The author was a Jewish Christian prophet; a prophet under the Christian dispensation, resembling some of the prophets of the Old Testament under the Jewish. The class of composition to which the work belongs was the symbolical prophetic; that is, the peculiar kind of prophetic composition to which the Jewish prophets tended in the later period of the national literature. Portions of the book of Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel evidently belong to the same species of composition. Other writings of the same general nature, though

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far inferior in excellence, are the Revelation of Peter, the Book of Enoch, which was probably written before it, the Book of the Ascension of Isaiah, the Fourth Book of Esdras, and the Sibylline Oracles. The Cabalistic writings of the Jews also contain similar ideas.

These ancient uncanonical writings, though not to be compared with the Apocalypse in religious inspiration or literary excellence, yet show that there did exist, near the time of its author, a style of composition of the same general nature, — a fashion of expressing one's thoughts similar to that which we find in the Apocalypse. They show that its symbols and emblems are not mere images, immediately suggested by the Deity to the mind of the prophet; not arbitrary signs, of which he did not himself understand the signification, and which were to be interpreted by distant events; but, in certain kinds of composition, the ordinary language of the times, having a definite meaning for the contemporaries of the writer, — language which the contemporaneous readers of the book were expected to understand and to be influenced by. At the time of publication, the Apocalypse was, without doubt, understood by its readers with as little difficulty as the Epistles of Paul. For in the latter are some things which can be found out only by those "who have wisdom."

In regard to the practical design of the author, it was evidently the same which the writers of the Epistles of the New Testament had in view; namely, to confirm Christians of his own times in the faith, — to excite them to perseverance in the Christian virtues, and to prevent their falling away under the terrors of persecution, and even to exhort Jews and Gentiles to conversion. (See i. 9; ii. 10; iii. 10; xiii. 7; xi. 13; and xiv. 6.)

Such was the author's practical design. It is the same with that which the Apostles generally had in view. Now, in order to effect this object, it is well known that the Apostles continually refer to the near coming of Christ. It was impressed on their minds, that the low, distressed condition of Christians was not long to remain what it was. Christ would speedily come to exalt his friends and punish his enemies, and establish his kingdom beyond all opposition.

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Our Saviour himself had predicted a coming of his, which was to take place during the lifetime of those who listened to his prediction. See Matt. xvi. 28. It has generally been supposed that this relates to an invisible or spiritual coming; a coming which was to be manifested in the display of power for the establishment of his kingdom, or a coming in the spirit and power of his religion in the minds of men. However this may be, it is evident that the Apostles expected, in their own day, a personal coming of Christ, visible to the outward eye. Amid all their labors and trials, and all the dangers and persecutions of the churches which they founded, this was their great topic of encouragement, of admonition, of warning, and of consolation. "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh;" "the Lord is at hand." (See James v. 8; 1 Pet. iv. 7; Phil. iv. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.) It was to be a coming of triumph to his friends, of confusion and destruction to his enemies.

This speedy coming of Christ filled the mind of the writer of the Apocalypse, and is urged by him as the great motive and means by which his practical design was to be accomplished. It is announced at the outset: "Behold he cometh in clouds, and every eye shall see him!" It forms the devout aspiration at the close of the book: "Surely I come quickly: Amen! Even so come, Lord Jesus!" It runs through the whole book, as the principal idea. (Comp. ii. 16; iii. 3, 11; vi. 2; xii. 10; xix. 11; xxii. 7.) In connection with its practical design, the subject of the book may be stated to be, The Coming of Christ, and the events which, as the writer believed, would precede and accompany his reign.

The difference between the Apocalypse and the Epistles of the New Testament in relation to this subject of the coming of Christ is, that the former is a prophetic poem, while the latter are plain prose. The former sets forth in a series of prophetic symbols what the Apostles express in plain, unstudied declarations. The former would bring home the great event of the coming of Christ to the imagination, as well as the faith, of his readers. What there is in the Apocalypse more than in the Epistles and the Gospels, is to be attributed to the imagination of the writer, under the influence of strong but fallible inspiration, or to the opinions which he held, in

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common with his contemporaries, as to the events which would precede or accompany, first the limited, and afterwards the complete, establishment of Christ's kingdom, when he should in person descend from heaven. Many of the opinions which the Jews entertained respecting the first coming of the Messiah were transferred by the early Christians to his second coming. These opinions, drawn from the oral narratives which now form the Gospels, from the Epistles, from contemporaneous writings which are lost, and of which we have similar ones in the Book of Enoch and others before mentioned, are embodied in the Apocalypse, embellished by a great variety of figures and symbols drawn from the prophet's own imagination.

The ground-idea only, — what Christ predicted, — the establishment of the kingdom of God in some way, — the triumph of Christian principles, and the blessedness which will be their result to society and to individuals, on earth and in heaven, — this is all which can be literally fulfilled. All the rest, having reference to contingent events, is to be referred to opinions of the writer and his contemporaries, which time has proved to be unfounded.

With these views of the character, design, and subject of the Apocalypse, it appears to us that it will not be more difficult to arrive at the meaning of it than of other portions of the New Testament.

In the mind of the writer, the coming of Christ and the establishment of his kingdom were evidently not regarded as purely spiritual events. He could not say, as Christ did, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." It was connected in his mind with the putting down of physical power, in heaven and on earth. There was to be war in heaven and on earth, in his view, before Christ should reign in triumph. Hence a great part of the work consists in symbolic prediction of the ruin or destruction of those political powers which were thought to present the greatest obstacles to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ, namely, Jerusalem and Rome. These cities were the centres and representatives of all the earthly force, with the exception of that of the extreme North which is afterwards introduced under the name of Gog and Magog, which was supposed to be in opposition to the triumphant establishment of the kingdom of Christ.

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With respect to its contents, the Apocalypse may be divided into five parts.

I. A short statement respecting the writer. Ch. i. 1 – 4.

II. A vision of Jesus Christ to the author, in which he is represented as directing him to write letters of encouragement, admonition, or rebuke to the seven churches of Asia Minor. Ch. i. 5 – iii.

III. A succession of symbolic visions and representations, setting forth how the opposition to Christ's kingdom from the Jewish nation was to be put down. Ch. iv. – xi.

IV. Another succession of visions and symbols, representing the destruction of the opposition to Christ's kingdom which came from heathenism, and was embodied at Rome, and afterwards in the North, and the final triumphant reign of Christ. Ch. xii. – xxii. 6.

V. Concluding remarks relating to the book. Ch. xxii. 6 to the end.

Of these five divisions, the third and fourth may be regarded as the Apocalypse proper; that is, they contain the symbolical revelation of things future. They extend from chap. iv. 1 to xxii. 6, and contain visions and symbols relating to the forces which are opposed to Christ, and to his final victory over them. A more particular analysis, accompanied with explanatory remarks, is as follows.

In the beginning of chap. iv. John is represented as seeing a door opened in heaven, and hearing the same voice which directed him to write the letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor, saying to him, "Come up hither, and I will show thee what things must hereafter come to pass." He is in the spirit caught up to heaven, and sees Jehovah seated on a splendid throne, surrounded by a rainbow in brightness like an emerald, supported by four wonderful living creatures, and having around it seats, upon which sat four and twenty elders in white garments, with crowns of gold on their heads, who were continually praising Him that sat on the throne. In chap. v. is seen in the right hand of Jehovah, who sat on the throne, a book sealed with seven seals, obviously the book of the Divine purposes respecting the future events which the writer was about to set forth in his symbolic language. None of the in-

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habitants of heaven is able to open that sealed book. On this account John weeps. An angel tells him to be comforted, since the Messiah, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, had prevailed to loose the seals and unroll the book. Immediately a Lamb, with seven eyes, symbols of knowledge, and as many horns, symbols of strength, with the marks of a bloody death upon it, undertakes, and that with success, to open the sealed volume amid the acclamations of all the spirits in heaven.

In chap. vi. begins the unveiling of the future, through the opening of the seven seals by the Messiah. The first four form a separate division, containing symbols which go together. The first seal of the book of Destiny is opened by the Lamb, and a white horse is seen, his rider having a bow in his hand, and receiving a crown upon his head as he rides forth to conquer. This symbol evidently denotes victory, as destined to be the final result of the Messiah's cause.

With the opening of the second seal a red horse, having a rider with a great sword in his hand, to whom it was given to take peace from the earth, appears as the symbol of coming war.

The third seal opens, and a black horse, with a pair of scales in his hand to weigh out the wheat rather than measure it, appears as the symbol of famine.

With the opening of the fourth seal appears on the scene a pale horse, having a rider whose name is Death, manifestly the symbol of pestilence. All these four emblems of victory, war, famine, and pestilence are followed by Hades, the region of the dead personified, and together with it set forth the calamities which are to be inflicted on the enemies of Christ, as a preparation for his triumph, or the victorious establishment of his kingdom. (vi. 1 – 9.)

The fifth seal is opened, and the voice of martyred Christians is heard under the altar in heaven, calling aloud for vengeance on their persecutors and murderers. The design of this representation is evident; namely, to show that the calamities denoted by the preceding symbols relate to the enemies of Christ and Christians. (vi. 9 – 11.) They are told to wait a little longer, till the impending martyrdom of their fellows should be completed.

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On the opening of the sixth seal, still more dreadful symbols of calamity and punishment, which should fall on the opposers of Christianity, are exhibited. An earthquake, the sun becoming black like sackcloth, the moon becoming like blood, the stars falling from heaven, the firmament parting as a scroll is rolled up, are mere general symbols of approaching calamities about to fall on the enemies of Christ, or of the near approach of the time of judgment. (vi. 12–17.)

Before the opening of the seventh seal a vision is interposed, the design of which seems to be to show that the faithful followers of Christ had nothing to fear from the calamities which had been announced on the opening of the six preceding seals, but rather to hope that their sufferings would then be brought to an end, either by life or by death. An angel appears holding fast the four winds, while another angel, during the stillness of nature, sets a seal on the followers of Christ. An immense number is sealed, whose song of praise and happiness in the presence of Christ is described. (Ch. vii.)

Then comes the opening of the seventh seal, the contents of which are so dreadful as to cause a silent horror in the inhabitants of heaven for a considerable time. It is the stillness of expectation, such as precedes a storm. Seven angels are represented as appearing, furnished with seven trumpets. As the approach of an army among the Jews was announced by the sound of trumpets, so these seven angels in the same way announce the coming of the Messiah to put down his enemies. Before the trumpets sound, incense is burnt by another angel in a golden censer before the throne of God, as a symbol of the prayers of Christians. Their prayer is heard; in token of which fire is taken by the angel from the altar and scattered upon the earth, to denote the punishment which was soon to come upon the enemies of Christians. The angels prepare to sound their trumpets. Four of them form a separate division from the rest, as was the case with four of the seven seals. These four sound, and various calamities, represented by hail, fire, blood, poisoning of the waters, the darkening and falling of the heavenly bodies, come upon the earth. (Ch. viii.)

The fifth angel now sounds his trumpet, and the first woe commences. An angel-star, which had fallen from heaven, is

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seen by John to open the door of the bottomless pit, from which swarms of locusts, such as we find described in the book of Joel, are represented as issuing forth. These probably represent invading armies. They were to injure, without utterly destroying, those who had not the seal of God in their foreheads. They come under the instigation and leadership of Apollyon. (ix. 1–12.)

Now the sixth angel sounds, and the four angels of destruction, who had been bound at the river Euphrates, are let loose. With them comes an immense host of cavalry, terrible in respect to both horses and riders, who are said to destroy a third part of men; that is, to inflict very extensive destruction. The remaining part are said to remain impenitent and unreformed. It is to be observed that all the symbols of woe which accompany the sounding of the fifth and sixth trumpets are merely preparatory, or by way of prelude, to the great event or consummation, which is set forth in the eleventh chapter, by which the opposition of the Jewish state to Christianity is put down. That is, they do not denote particular independent events, but have reference to the one great catastrophe set forth in the eleventh chapter. (ix. 13–21.)

Previous to the sounding of the seventh trumpet, which is to introduce the concluding woe, a new scene or symbol is introduced. An angel descends from heaven, clothed with a cloud, having a rainbow upon his head, his face being like the sun, and his feet like pillars of brass. He has in his hand an open book-roll. With his right foot on the sea, and his left foot on the earth, he swears that there should be no longer delay;* namely, in the accomplishment of the purposes of God relating to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom, when the seventh angel should sound. The angel gives John the book-roll which was in his hand, the volume of the Divine purposes, and directs him to eat it. It was sweet to his mouth, but bitter in his stomach. The former circumstance denotes the Seer's joy on account of being intrusted with the Divine message, and the latter expresses his feeling of pain on account of the woes which formed the sub-

* ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται, erroneously rendered in the Common Version, "that there should be time no longer."

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stance of the message contained in the roll. The eating of the book is symbolical of the reception of the prophet's gifts for the remaining part of his revelations of the future. (Ch. x.)

And now, before the coming of the second woe and the destruction of the Jewish power, the question occurs to the Seer, How shall it be with the holy temple of God? His patriotic Jewish feeling seems to lead him to answer the question in a way not accordant with Matthew's Gospel, and with the actual event. He cannot conceive of the holy temple's* destruction. A measuring-rod is represented as given to the Seer, and he is directed to measure the temple, the altar, and its worshippers, as a symbol that these were to be preserved amid the impending calamities; but not to measure the outer court, for that was to be given to the Gentiles, who should waste it for three years and a half. Only the temple proper is to be spared. During the time of the conquest of the Holy City, two witnesses, probably Moses and Elijah, would prophesy, clothed in sackcloth. At the end of their testimony, they were to be slain by the beast from the bottomless pit, that is, the Antichristian power, which is afterwards, in chap. xiii. and xvii., more particularly set forth. Their dead bodies were to lie three days and a half in Jerusalem, "the city where our Lord was crucified." But afterwards they would arise and ascend to heaven in a cloud, in the sight of their enemies. In the same hour, a tenth part of the Holy City fell; seven thousand men perished, and the remnant gave glory to the God of heaven, that is, became subjects of the Messiah's kingdom. This was the conclusion of the second woe. It put an end to the opposition to Christ's kingdom from the Jewish nation. But this was only preliminary to a greater contest,—only preparatory for the final triumph of Christ over the opposition from Rome. The second woe completes all that relates to Jerusalem. (xi. 13.)

Then commences the preparation of the third woe, which has no relation to the Jewish nation, and does not take place, as we suppose, till the pouring out of the seven vials, by which the Roman Antichristian power is put down in chap. xvi.

* Düsterdieck, in agreement with Ewald, Lücke, Bleek, and De Wette, has demonstrated with great ability the untenableness of the allegorizing view of Hengstenberg, that the temple can here mean the Christian Church.

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The seventh angel now sounds his trumpet, by which, we conceive, not the immediate completion, but the ideal or prophetic certainty, of the third woe is announced. The voices of praise in heaven, celebrating the establishment of the reign of Christ, (xi. 15–18,) are on account of what is to be, when the third woe is passed, and relate to the whole contents of chap. xii.–xix. The sounding of the seventh angel's trumpet so surely indicates that the kingdoms of the world will speedily become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, that the inhabitants of heaven give praise, as if the event had come. In conformity with this view is the meaning of verse nineteenth: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his covenant." The temple is the peculiar dwelling-place of God, who keeps his covenant or promises. The opening of this temple, and the vision of the ark of the covenant, indicate the revelation of the mysterious purposes of God relating to the establishment of the kingdom of his Son. (xi. 19.)

And now, instead of proceeding immediately to the description of the third woe, the poet-seer proceeds to a highly imaginative description of the enemies which were to be put down, prefixing to it a symbolical representation of the birth of Christ. This constant postponement of the final triumph of Christ over his enemies by the interposition of preparatory symbolical scenes, is evidence of the writer's skill, and makes the difference between a poem and a plain prose statement, which might have been made in a very few lines.

A great and horrible dragon, with seven heads, seven horns, and ten crowns on each of his heads, — the Satanic archetype in heaven of the beast representing the Roman power on earth, — is represented as watching a woman clothed with the sun, and having the moon under her feet, — a symbol of the true Jewish Church, or Theocracy, — who was about to bring forth a child, namely, the Messiah, with the purpose of devouring the child. This monster, Satan, is represented as cast out of heaven by Michael, the archangel, and his hosts; and the woman and her son are rescued. This casting out of Satan from heaven, being regarded as typical of what was to be on the earth, occasions great rejoicing and thanksgiving in the

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heavenly world. But Satan is represented as still remaining upon the earth, having great wrath, and stirring up all his instruments to war against the woman, her child, the Messiah, and his followers. (Ch. xii.) Two of these instruments are represented under the symbols of monstrous beasts, evidently denoting heathen Rome, and the idolatrous priesthood or prophethood of Rome, as rising in succession, the one from the sea, and the other from the earth. As the sea was conceived of as encompassing the whole earth, the representation that the principal beast comes from the sea, and the second, which was merely an adjunct power wholly in the service of the first, from the land, is probably designed to set forth the all-comprehensive grasp of the Roman empire. One of the heads, "wounded to death, but whose deadly wound was healed," denotes Nero,* who had wielded the power of the Roman empire, and had been put to death, but was expected to reappear as Antichrist. (Comp. ch. xvii. 8–11.) The vast influence of both beasts is further described, and the name of the beast given in the number six hundred and sixty-six, as an enigma to be interpreted by the wise. If this number refers, as is most probable, to the letters of the Greek alphabet which denote it, the name of the beast is λατεῖνος,† Latin, the noun implied being λαός, people, or αὐτοκράτωρ, emperor. If the number refer to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet which denote it, the beast's name might be נֵרוֹן קֵסַר, Nero Cæsar. (Ch. xiii.)

And now against these terrible forces under the conduct of Satan, the writer sets forth, in striking contrast, symbols of the victory and rest, which are designed by the Almighty to be the final issue of the conflict. The purpose of this is to encourage and console. Christ is seen on Mount Zion surrounded by the redeemed. (xiv. 1–6.) Then follow successive proclamations by three angels. The first announces the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. The second proclaims the fall of Rome, under the name of Babylon; that is, its destined fall. For that which is decreed in heaven is, in the Hebrew and New Testament idiom, often represented as done. (6–8.) The third declares the judgments which awaited the followers

* So Victorinus, Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Bleek, Baur, Stuart.

† Thus, λ 30, α 1, τ 300, ε 5, ι 10, ν 50, ο 70, ς 200 = 666.

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of the beast. This is followed by a voice declaring the blessedness of Christ's followers. (9–13.) Then follow images setting forth the near approach of the Messiah, under the form of a man with a sharp sickle, who is directed by an angel to thrust it in and reap. Other images succeed, of similar import. (14–20.)

The symbols and pledges of Divine retribution having been thus given, preparation is made for its execution in chap. xv. The writer sees a new vision in heaven, namely, seven angels receiving from God the commission to inflict the seven last plagues, by which the wrath of God was to be accomplished upon the two beasts, representing the Roman Antichristian power. As soon as this is seen, the host of martyrs sing a song of anticipated triumph, called the song of Moses and of the Lamb, because it has been sung by Moses and by the Lamb, and Christians have learned it of them. The unity of the Church of God, begun in Judaism and continued under Christ, is thus recognized. Then from the temple in heaven, the peculiar abode of God, the keeper of his covenant or promises, the seven angels go forth, receiving seven golden vials or bowls, filled with the wrath of God. The decree of retribution is irrevocable. No one can enter the temple in heaven until it is accomplished. (xv. 1–8.)

At the command of a voice issuing from the heavenly temple, the seven angels pour out their vials. The calamities which have been announced by the foregoing symbols are actually inflicted. The Roman Antichristian power, i. e. Rome with her dependent cities, is brought to a ruinous state. (Ch. xvi.) The absolute completion of its destruction is not represented as taking place until chap. xix. 11–21, under the immediate presence of Christ at the head of his army.

Then follows a more particular account of the judgment upon Rome, and the causes of it, in a conversation between an angel and the writer, and in other visions, in chap. xvii. Here occurs a remarkable description of the Roman power, as "the beast which was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;" and again, as "the beast which was, and is not, and shall come;"* and of seven kings, of whom five are

* καὶ πάρεσται, *and shall come,* instead of καίπερ ἐστίν, *and yet is,* is the reading of all the late critical editions.

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represented as fallen, one as then existing, one as about to come and continue but a short time, and one as being about to come as the eighth, and yet be one of the seven. This enigmatical description admits, as it appears to us, of but one satisfactory solution, namely, that which supposes the five kings who had fallen to denote five Roman emperors,—1. Augustus, 2. Tiberius, 3. Caligula, 4. Claudius, 5. Nero. For there appears to have been an expectation in all parts of the Roman empire, and even in the Christian Church down to the time of Augustine, that Nero would come to life and again appear on the stage. The writer of the Apocalypse, adopting this wide-spread opinion, represents Nero as the head of the empire, as one of the five which had fallen, and thus as the beast which was, and is not, and shall come as the eighth king, though one of the seven. The sixth emperor, then, will be Galba, or, if we exclude Galba, Otho, and Vitellius as mere insurrectionary princes, the sixth will be Vespasian. After the seventh, which the writer does not mention by name, but which he might well expect to be short-lived in the tumultuous times of Galba, Nero was to reappear as the eighth, and soon afterwards to go to destruction, being overcome by the Lamb. (Ch. xvii.)

In chap. xviii. another angel is seen descending from heaven, announcing the utter destruction of Rome as immediately impending. (1–3.) The people of God are warned to come out of her. (4–8.) The lamentation over her destined fall is then described. (9–19.) Heaven is called upon to rejoice over her sure destruction, and an angel takes up a great millstone and casts it into the sea, as a symbol that she shall fall to rise no more. (20–24.)

And now, before the final and complete triumph over the beast and false prophet, the writer, according to his custom, brings in an episode of thanksgiving and praise, in view of the victory which the Messiah is to win. (xix. 1–10.) Then appears, in the dress of a triumphant warrior, the faithful and true judge and irresistible conqueror, the Messiah, followed by his heavenly warriors. The two beasts from the sea and the land in vain endeavor to make resistance. They are seized and cast alive into the lake which burneth with fire and brim-

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stone, and their followers slain by the sword which proceeded from the mouth of the Victor, who sat upon the white horse. The sword from his mouth seems to indicate his pronouncing sentence as judge, and the power with which it is executed. (xix. 11 – 21.)

Now, the Antichristian power which had its centre in Jerusalem and in Rome having been completely subdued, there still remains the punishment of the instigator of all the opposition to Christ, namely, Satan. He is seized, bound, and cast into the abyss, the abode of evil spirits, there to remain a thousand years. During this thousand years' confinement of Satan, the true followers of Christ, with those who have suffered martyrdom in his cause, are to reign on earth with Christ. A judgment takes place, whose apparent design is to decide who are worthy of the first resurrection, and of living with Christ a thousand years on the earth. As to the judges who sat upon the thrones, and to whom the office of administering judgment was given, they may have been Christ and the twelve Apostles (comp. Matt. xix. 28), or the four and twenty elders. That the reign of Christ and his followers, including those raised from the dead, during the thousand years, though not of a worldly character, was to have its seat on the earth, seems plain from verses third, eighth, and ninth, and is confirmed by the well-known Jewish conceptions concerning the reign of the Messiah. (See also xix. 11.) At the end of the thousand years' reign, Satan is again loosed, and goes forth to deceive the nations. He instigates the nations of the North, called Gog and Magog, to engage in battle with Christ and his followers at Jerusalem, "the beloved city," the seat or capital city of the kingdom of the Messiah on earth. But the issue of the conflict is, that these enemies are destroyed, and Satan himself cast into the burning lake, where the beast and the false prophet had been hurled. (xx. 1 – 10.)

In regard to the question which has been asked, Why Christ should reign with his people on the earth a thousand years and no more, without another crisis, or contest with his enemies, — or why, at the expiration of that period, Satan must be loosed a short time from his prison, — we know of no answer, except that the writer partook of the common Jewish

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belief of the times respecting the thousand years' reign of the Messiah,* which being finite must come to an end; and entertained the positive opinion, perhaps derived from the Old Testament, that Gog and Magog must come as enemies of Christ. The letting loose of Satan to stir them up is in conformity with other imaginations of the writer respecting the work of Satan.

And now, the opposition of all enemies ending with the destruction of Gog and Magog and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire, the second or general resurrection is represented as taking place, and that without any considerable interval of time. See xix. 5. Before the secure establishment of the final and absolute blessedness of the kingdom of God, it was necessary that all the dead, small and great, should stand before the throne and be judged. Now God, the Creator, the Ancient of Days of Dan. vii. 9, he who makes all things new (Rev. xxi. 5), he who gained the last victory (xx. 9), is the judge. The dead are judged; they whose names are not written in the book of life are cast into the lake of fire, and then death and the underworld (Hades), represented as persons, are, as being the progeny of sin, cast into the burning lake; that is, their power is destroyed. There will be no more pain or death in the new creation which is to follow. (xx. 11–15.) There is now a new heaven and a new earth, and to this new earth the New Jerusalem descends from heaven; that is, the heavenly archetype of the new Christian theocracy is realized in the renovated earth. (xxi.–xxii. 5.) Then follows the conclusion, or epilogue. (xxii. 6–21.)

Such is the view of the meaning of the Apocalypse given by the most scientific expositors, who have discarded the allegorical or double sense, and who hold that an inspired man is one under the influence of the spirit of God, but yet not beyond the reach of error. According to this view, it follows that when the Apocalyptist undertook to predict future contingent events, such as that the temple of Jerusalem would be spared when the city was assaulted, and that the destruction of the city itself would be only partial; that the eighth

* See the Jewish opinions in Eisenmenger, II. 811, and Wetstein on Apoc. xx. 2.

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Roman emperor, whom he probably supposed would be Nero risen from the dead, would be the last; that in the time of this eighth emperor Rome would be reduced to a total ruin; that immediately after this there would be a resurrection of the martyrs in the cause of Christ, who would rise from the dead, and with their Master enjoy a thousand years of uninterrupted blessedness; that the time of the general resurrection would take place a thousand years from the reign of the eighth Roman emperor; — he was in error, as all must be who undertake to predict contingent or historical events of the distant future. But the ground ideas which underlie his representations — such as that Christian principles have a mighty power, and are destined in the end to prevail against all the strong-holds of error and sin; that progress is God's law; that the world is not abandoned to the dominion of impious rulers, or persecuting priests; that in consequence of the prevalence of the religion of Christ there will be a new and better state of society on earth, and a triumphant state of eternal blessedness for the righteous — are founded in truth, and expressed with such fulness, strength, and vividness, that they may well be said to come from an inspired man, that is, one having the aid of the spirit of God. He was without doubt a Jewish Christian prophet, who had cast off subjection to the ritual law, but retained a considerable degree of the spirit of the old theocracy, and had not attained to the spirituality of John the Evangelist, or Paul. On this account Martin Luther asserted that "the book was neither apostolic nor prophetic;" and "that Christ was neither taught nor acknowledged in it." He must have meant that he found a Christ in the Apocalypse less spiritual, and less adapted to the heart burdened with sin, than the Christ of Paul and of the beloved disciple. Still it may be read with profit, as well calculated to inspire hope, trust, and confidence with respect to the progress of society, and to the eternal connection between Christian righteousness and permanent blessedness. It exhibits all the attributes of God as on the side of truth and right, and as pledges of their final triumph. In every age we have the return, with greater or less hideousness, of the beast which cometh up from the sea, and the beast which cometh up

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from the land (Apoc. xiii.); the corrupt civil power, and its devoted servant, the false prophet or church. In every age it is the principles of Christian truth, zealously maintained by those who are not discouraged by the abuses of free inquiry on the one hand, nor attracted by the love of quiet in some old reform-hating hierarchy on the other, that must gain the final victory. Only those who hold fast the true and the right against all the forces which may be arrayed against them, belong to the army of him who is called "Faithful and True," and who will finally sit on the white horse of victory. (Apoc. xix. 11.)

The Apocalypse is a highly interesting monument of the mode of thinking and feeling of no inconsiderable portion of the Christian Church at a very early period; and embodies their opinions and expectations. Though it may be less valuable in some respects than the writings of the Apostles, yet on account of its sustained and earnest spirit, and its sublime poetry, as well as of the fundamental religious principles which it embodies, it will no doubt be read with interest as long as books last.

What we have said on the character of the Apocalypse implies our entire agreement with those critics who believe it impossible that it should have come from the author of the fourth Gospel, and the Epistles ascribed to John. We should like, if we had space, to make some remarks on the opinion of F. C. Baur of Tübingen, who comes to the above conclusion, but ascribes the Apocalypse to John the Apostle, and the fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles to later writers. This is a subject of great extent, and having numerous relations, which forbid our entering upon it at this time. We will only say that the arguments of Baur have made little impression upon us.

But there is one subject, namely, the time in which the Apocalypse was written, which, as it determines the standpoint of the author in respect to his predictions, or the political horizon which bounded his view, has an important bearing on the interpretation of the book. On this account, we propose to state briefly one or two of the reasons which have led

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us to the conclusion that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the time of the Emperor Galba; or possibly in the beginning of the reign of Vespasian.

An opinion has been prevalent, that it was written near the end of the reign of Domitian, about A. D. 95 – 96. A passage in Irenæus has given this opinion its principal support.* Some of the later Fathers adopt this opinion merely on his authority. But he does not say whether his opinion was received from tradition, or formed from something contained in the book itself. Some of the early Church writers ascribe the book to the reign of Nero; others, to that of Claudius. It appears to us that there is no reliable tradition which ought to have much weight against any internal evidence which may be found in the book itself. Internal evidence, in such a case, is the most conclusive evidence, when it can be found. Now it appears to us that there are in the Apocalypse indications of time, from which we may infer, with considerable confidence, the date of its composition.

In the first place, there are some marks of a later date for the Apocalypse than for most of the Epistles of Paul. The letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor seem to suppose them to be in a more mature state than when Paul wrote to the Ephesians and Colossians. They had forgotten their first love, and corruptions, both of opinion and practice, had crept in. Persecutions, not only from the Jews, but from the Romans, had prevailed. These circumstances seem to carry us beyond the period of most of the Epistles of Paul,—those which he wrote during his first imprisonment at Rome. But we do not see why they should carry us more than five or six years beyond Paul's imprisonment, or about the year 68 or 69.

Some have supposed that, as persecution is said to have ceased for a time after the death of Nero, the reign of Galba or Vespasian does not suit the persecuted condition of Christians, as represented in the book, so well as the reign of Nero or Domitian. But there are two considerations which diminish the force of this suggestion: one is, that, from the nature of the case, the persecution of Christians would be continued by the priests and people of the Roman empire, long after the

* In Hæres. V. 30. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. III. 18.

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edicts which enjoined it had been revoked.* The second is, that, when Judæa was in a rebellious state against the Romans, it is extremely probable that Christians, who were at that time regarded by the Romans as a sect of Jews, would be persecuted in all parts of the empire. We see, therefore, nothing in the Apocalypse inconsistent with its having been written soon after the death of Nero, when the feelings excited by his persecution were fresh, and when the priests and people would continue it, even without an imperial edict, or in spite of one.

More definite indications of the date of the composition of the Apocalypse are found in chap. xi. and xvii. 8–11, together with xiii. 8. From chap. xi. it appears to us that a decisive argument is to be drawn that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, or at least before the writer had heard of the destruction of Jerusalem. In ver. 1, 2, the Apocalyptist is commanded to measure the temple of God, the altar, &c., but to cast out and not measure the porch, &c., because it was given up to the Gentiles, who would tread the Holy City under foot, &c. Here the trampling of the city under foot is predicted as a future event. Now whether the temple to be measured off, or preserved, is to be understood literally or symbolically, — whether it denote the material temple at Jerusalem, or the spiritual part of the Jewish religion, or the Christianized part of the Jewish nation, — it appears to us that the natural implication is that the Jewish temple was standing in the time of the writer; for if the whole temple had been already in ruins, we should expect that different language would have been used; we should expect some allusion to have been made to so important an event, especially when it is said that the outer court should be given to the Gentiles.

Then in the third and following verses it is said, "I *will* give power to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy, and be put to death, and their dead bodies shall be in the streets of Jerusalem, the place," it is expressly added, "where our Lord was crucified." These two witnesses were subse-

* "Whenever the jealousy of the state was awakened, no special edict was required to drag them before the altar of Jupiter, and invite them to sprinkle it with incense, and conceive a vow to the genius of the Emperor." — Merivale, History of the Romans, Vol. VI. p. 284.

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quently to be brought to life, and to ascend to heaven, after having been overcome by the beast that should ascend from the bottomless pit; that is, the Roman persecuting power under Nero. (Comp. xvii. 8; xiii. 1.) That the Roman persecuting power is indicated is evident from the phrase in verse second, "it shall be given to *the Gentiles*." Then, it is said, there was a great earthquake, and a tenth part of the city fell, and seven thousand men perished, and the rest gave glory to the God of heaven.

Now that this is not a prediction *after the event*, appears evident from its want of conformity to the actual circumstances of the event. If the writer had known of the complete destruction of the city of Jerusalem, including the temple, and of the hundreds of thousands that were slain or carried into captivity, why should he represent only a tenth part of the city as fallen, and only seven thousand as slain, and the rest as giving glory to the God of heaven? If it were a prediction made after the event, why was it not made to correspond with the facts?

Nor is the difficulty removed, if we suppose that the whole representation is symbolical, and that the capture of Jerusalem was designed to be a mere emblem of the fall of Judaism. For why should not the writer have made the emblem which he uses more conformable to the facts of the case? When we refer to the facts of history for illustration, we are not expected to misstate them, more than if we refer to them on their own account as plain history. But it appears to us that the supposition that Jerusalem is in this chapter a mere symbol, is contrary to the whole tenor of it. If the writer had so designed it, he would have made his purpose distinctly to appear. From this chapter, then, we draw a very decisive argument that the Apocalypse was written before the fall of Jerusalem.

In chap. xvii. we have, unless we are mistaken in our interpretation of it, still more definite indications of the time of its composition; namely, before the destruction of Jerusalem and after the death of Nero; not during his life, as Mr. Stuart and a few others have maintained.

In ver. 3 we evidently have a symbolical representation

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of heathen Rome, under the image of a woman sitting upon a scarlet-colored beast having seven heads and ten horns. In ver. 7 there are also said to be seven mountains or hills on which the woman sitteth. But in verses 8–11 we read, "The beast which thou sawest was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition; and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and shall come.* Here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth; and there are seven kings. Five have fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he is come, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." Now, as the woman sitting on seven hills denotes heathen Rome, it appears to us there can be little doubt that the seven kings denote seven Roman emperors. And one of these has such marked peculiarities in the enigmatical description of it, that, when we consider the opinions which prevailed after Nero's death, it is extremely probable that it refers to the Emperor Nero. He is described as the beast which was, and is not, and will come; as the eighth, and yet one of the seven. No other solution of the enigma is so obvious as this.

For it appears from indisputable testimony, that after the death of Nero a wide-spread and long-continued opinion prevailed among men that he would rise from the dead, reappear as emperor, and put down his enemies. Thus Suetonius (Nero, cap. 57), after speaking of the joy on account of the tyrant's death, says: "And yet there were some who for a long time adorned his tomb with spring and summer flowers, and who would at one time set up in the rostrum images of him clothed with the prætexta, and at another time would proclaim edicts, as if he were living, and would shortly return to the ruin of his enemies." This was at Rome. It also appears that the same opinion extended to the most distant provinces of the empire. Thus, in the chapter referred to above, Suetonius says: "When I was a

* See note to page 340.

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youth, there arose a person of uncertain origin, who boasted that he was Nero; and so attractive was his name among the Parthians, that he received much aid from them, and was given up with great reluctance." Tacitus also (Hist. I. 2) says: "The Parthians were near engaging in a war through the deception of a pretended Nero." And again (II. 8): "About the same time, [that is, about A. D. 71,] Achaia and Asia were terrified without cause, as if Nero were coming, reports being various respecting his death, and many on this account imagining and believing that he was still alive." Thus it appears that in Asia Minor, the very region in which the Apocalyptist lived, the people were filled with alarm about the coming of Nero, three years after his death. Dio Chrysostom says: "Those around Nero left him as it were to destroy himself; for even to the present time this is uncertain. Even now all desire him to live, and most even suppose that he is alive." Dio was a contemporary of Vespasian, and wrote the preceding sentence long after Nero's death. Dio Cassius (LXIV. 9) relates, that "in the time of Otho, who succeeded Galba, a person appeared at Rome, who pretended to be Nero, but was speedily taken and executed." We might quote passages* in abundance from the Sibylline Oracles, and from several of the Church Fathers who lived centuries after the death of Nero, which prove the deeply-rooted and wide-spread expectation that he would rise from the dead, and reappear as emperor with irresistible power. Even before the death of Nero, some astrologers had predicted that he would be reduced to a state of great destitution, and afterward be restored to his former fortune. (Suet. Nero, 40.) This prediction, when found not to have been fulfilled during his life, may well have given rise to the popular belief that he would rise from the dead. It has been said, — we know not with how much truth, — that a belief that Napoleon Bonaparte would return to France prevailed among the French peasants long after his death.

Now, whether the author of the Apocalypse received that form of the general belief concerning Nero which held that

* Sulpitius Severus, Lib. II. 28; Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Cap. XIX.; Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecut., Cap. II. See also, on the whole subject, Stuart on the Apocalypse, pp. 434 – 441.

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he was actually dead, but would be restored to life to the ruin of his enemies, or that form of it which supposed that his death was uncertain, and that he was still living in some hiding-place in the East, whence he would emerge and put down the emperor who had taken his place, — in either case the language of chap. xvii. is satisfactorily explained. He was "the beast that was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;" "the beast that was, and is not, and will come;" "the beast that was one of the seven, and yet the eighth;" and the head which "was wounded to death, but whose deadly wound was healed" (xiii. 3).

We think that the phrase, "shall come up from the bottomless pit," ver. 8, most naturally denotes coming up from Hades, the place of the dead. But if the writer only believed that Nero had ceased to be emperor, that he was hidden nobody knew where, and that another emperor, whether Galba or Vespasian, was reigning in his place, still the expected return of Nero, whether from his earthly hiding-place or from the regions of the dead, will best explain the enigmatical description above cited. In this explanation we have the support of Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Stuart, Bleek, and Baur. "Why, then," we ask, with the late Professor Stuart, "should we hesitate to admit an explanation so easy, and so satisfactory, and grounded in the history of the times?"

Two objections have been made to it by Düsterdieck, who proposes a different explanation; the first a philological, the second a doctrinal one. In regard to the first, he maintains that the phrase in verse 11, *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστι*, cannot well mean "and he is *one of* the seven;" but rather, "he is *sprung*, or *descended from*, the seven." But this objection would not have been made if Düsterdieck had taken the trouble to consult his Greek concordance. For in Acts xxi. 8 we find the very same phrase used concerning Philip the Evangelist, *ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά*, "being one of the seven." A similar ellipsis is found in Apoc. ii. 10, where *ἐξ ὑμῶν* means "*some* of you." See also Matt. xxiii. 34; Mark xiv. 69; Luke xxii. 58; Apoc. xi. 9. Even if the pronoun *εἷς*, "one," should not be regarded as understood, the same meaning is obtained by translating, "and belongs to the seven." This latter use of

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the preposition ἐκ in the New Testament is too common to need illustration. We conceive, therefore, that this first objection of Düsterdieck proceeded from pure carelessness and want of examination.

The second objection is a very singular one to proceed from him. It is, that it would detract too much from the inspiration of the writer, to suppose that he believed that Nero would reappear as the eighth emperor. But Düsterdieck himself maintains that the Apocalyptist referred to heathen Rome in chap. xvii., and supposed that Domitian, the eighth king, proceeding from the seven, would be the last Roman emperor, and that with his destruction Rome and the Roman empire would wholly come to an end. It seems to us that this is ascribing to the Apocalyptist as great an error as the supposition that he shared the common belief of the times, that Nero would reappear as emperor. Düsterdieck also maintains that the Apocalyptist was in error in regard to his prediction concerning Jerusalem and the inner temple, in chap. xi. It appears to us that, in regard to a wholly unknown writer, no one has a right to say how great a degree of error is consistent either with his inspiration or his intellectual powers.

We are confident, therefore, that the explanation we have given of chap. xvii. 8–11 ought to stand, until one is proposed which affords a better solution of the enigmatical language of the Apocalyptist.

Düsterdieck's exposition of the passage is as follows, as nearly as we can comprehend it:—

1. In chap. xvii. 8 he adopts, in his translation and exposition, the received text, καίπερ ἐστίν, "and yet is," instead of the reading universally adopted by critical editors of the New Testament, καὶ πάρεσται, "and shall come." This is the more strange, as in the textual critical notes prefixed to this chapter, after having given the authorities for the reading καὶ πάρεσται, he says decidedly, "The Elzevir reading καίπερ ἐστίν is false." I know not how to account for this inconsistency in a man of so much learning, except on the supposition that he wrote with extreme haste, as if doing his work for Meyer by the job, and may have drawn his translation and exposition from one source, and his remarks on the textual reading from another.

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Adopting, then, the reading of verse eighth, pronounced by himself "false," and translating the latter part of it, "when they behold the beast that was, and is not, *and yet is*," he applies it to Vespasian, whom he regards as the sixth head of the beast, and the reigning emperor in the time of the Apocalyptist. He thinks he solves the enigma of the verse by the explanation that the beast, the Roman empire, "*was*" under the five deceased emperors; that "*he was not*" in the time of Vespasian, inasmuch as he, though adopted as emperor by the Oriental legions and the decree of the Senate at Rome, was yet opposed by Vitellius at the head of the German army, and thus his power was not undisputed and unshared; and still that the Apocalyptist might say, "*and yet is*," inasmuch as Vespasian was really emperor, and it was not doubtful what the issue of the conflict between him and Vitellius would be.

The decisive argument against this exposition of verse eighth is, —

1. That it rests on a reading of the Greek text which is now universally rejected as false. In particular Bengel, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and even Düsterdieck himself, have decided against it.

2. And even supposing that the received text might be adopted, who does not see that the exposition is forced and arbitrary, requiring too much knowledge and reflection on the part of the reader? It is true, the enigma is addressed to those "who have wisdom." But the solution of an enigma, when discovered, is expected to be so obvious as to strike all minds.

3. It is also a decisive objection to this explanation, that it gives an application to the phrase "was and is not" of verse eighth, different from that which must be given it in verse eleventh.

Of verses tenth and eleventh, the explanation given by Düsterdieck is as follows. The five kings which have fallen are the deceased emperors, — 1. Augustus; 2. Tiberius; 3. Caligula; 4. Claudius; 5. Nero. The sixth, who was emperor in the time of the Apocalyptist, is Vespasian; the period between Nero and Vespasian, in which the three insurgent princes Galba, Otho, and Vitellius held their power, being regarded as an interregnum. The seventh, who had "not yet come" as

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emperor, and who should continue but a short time when he was come, is Titus. The eighth, who, according to Dusterdieck's translation, was derived from the seven, ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά, is Domitian. This emperor, according to Düsterdieck, is not represented by an eighth head of the beast, because the writer designed to embody the whole beast in his person. He is that person in which the beast that "was" under the five deceased emperors, and "is not" under Vespasian and Titus, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and, having taken the place of Titus, shall, at the coming of the Lord, be given up to everlasting destruction, and with him the beast itself shall perish, or the Roman empire cease to exist. Düsterdieck thinks the enigma is, that Domitian, who, as a personification of the whole beast, represents all the seven, should yet have his human-personal origin *from* the seven.

If this explanation is confused and obscure, we cannot help it. We are under no obligation to make what we regard an unfounded theory clearer than the author has made it. We will proceed to state briefly our objections to his exposition, so far as we understand it.

1. Domitian was a descendant of only *one* of the seven, namely, Vespasian, according to Düsterdieck's own theory.

2. We cannot see in the text or context any intimation that the eighth king or emperor represented or embodied the whole beast with the whole seven heads, more than each of the seven heads or emperors represented it. This is pure supposition on the part of the expositor. It is true that the eighth emperor is not typified by an eighth head of the beast; but this is well explained by the translation of the verse which we have before endeavored to establish, that "he was *one* of the seven," namely, the fifth, emerging from his hiding-place, or risen from the dead, as the eighth.

3. It is harsh and inconceivable that the whole Roman empire should be represented as "not being," not only at the time when John wrote, but during the reign of Vespasian and his successor, merely because there was civil commotion at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. The representation that the whole beast, or Roman empire, should come out of the bottomless pit in the person of Domitian alone, is also very arbitrary

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and incongruous. The representation of the Apocalypse is that the whole Roman empire is the beast, as really so under each of the seven heads as under the eighth emperor. Each head, for the time being, of course represents the whole beast.

4. The explanation of Düsterdieck finds no support in the history of the time; that is, in the circumstances which, according to his own view, were present to the mind of the Apocalyptist. Düsterdieck himself maintains that there was nothing of "a magical or divinatory" character in the prophecy of John, but only a moral judgment in view of the circumstances actually present to his mind in the beginning of the reign of Vespasian. Now Vespasian when he became emperor was only about sixty years old, in good health, at the head of a powerful army. His elder son, Titus, distinguished for genius and energy in civil and military affairs, was about thirty, and was engaged with his father in a fierce war against the country of the Apocalyptist, and was soon left alone to complete the conquest. His distinguished success, and the glorious triumph which followed, have been rendered memorable not only by the pages of history, but by monuments still existing. It is evident, therefore, that Vespasian and Titus gave promise of establishing the empire for some time to come. But Domitian at this time was distinguished only for dissoluteness and cruelty. He was scarcely twenty years old, and had done nothing whatever to distinguish himself in civil or military affairs. Before his father's return from Judæa, he had, for about six months, nominally held the reins of power at Rome. "But," says Merivale, "he was indolent and dissolute, and abandoned himself to intrigue and debauchery. While this young prince's name was affixed to every edict and appointment, the real power in all essential matters remained in the hands of Mucianus."* It is inconceivable, therefore, that the author of the Apocalypse, living in Asia Minor, where the power and fame of Vespasian and Titus, to whom the attention of the world was then drawn, must be well known to him, and where he would be likely to know little, if anything, of the young prince at distant Rome, should represent the Roman empire as "not being" during the reign of Vespasian and his

* Merivale's History of the Romans, Vol. VI. p. 480.

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successor, Titus, and as emerging from the bottomless pit in the person of Domitian. Every one must have expected a more powerful Roman empire under Vespasian and Titus, than under Domitian. Nor were they less likely to be persecutors of Christians than Domitian. According to Düsterdieck himself, they were regarded by the Apocalyptist as the sixth and seventh heads of the beast.

For all these reasons, we conceive that Düsterdieck's exposition of chap. xvii. 10, 11 — according to which the beast *that was*, and *is not*, and is to come as the eighth, denotes that the Roman empire "*was*" under Nero, "*was not*" under Vespasian and Titus, and "*was to be*" in the person of Domitian, as the eighth emperor — is arbitrary and improbable in the highest degree. In regard to fulfilment, it stands on no better ground than the explanation which we have regarded as the most probable. It was not till after a reign of fifteen years that Domitian was assassinated, as other Roman emperors had been.. But he was not overcome in a contest with "the Lamb" at the head of Christians, and he was succeeded by other heathen emperors nearly as bad as himself. The beast, or Roman empire, did not come to an end when he died; nor did Christ then appear in person to begin his millennial reign.

While we reject Düsterdieck's exposition of the verses under consideration, we admit that the sixth emperor, who was living in the time of the Apocalyptist, may possibly have been Vespasian rather than Galba, who reigned only about six months. But, as we have before intimated, we are more inclined to believe that John wrote under Galba, the sixth head or emperor, who then was more than seventy years old. If this be so, the writer may have possibly believed that Vespasian would be the seventh; for Josephus, claiming Divine inspiration, but speaking no doubt from his view of what was probable, had promised him the imperial power, even before Nero's death.* Why might not the same thing appear probable to the Apocalyptist? As to what he says about the seventh emperor's continuing but a short time, it may well be explained by the prevalent expectation of the reappearance of Nero from the dead, or from "the bottomless pit," as John expresses it, to the ruin of his

* Josephus, Jewish Wars, Book III. Ch. 8.

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enemies. He, in view of the Apocalyptist, was, as the eighth king, accompanied by "ten horns," or leaders of auxiliary forces from the East, to destroy and take the place of the seventh emperor, and then, at the personal coming of Christ to reign, was himself to "go to perdition," being overcome by the Lamb and his followers (ver. 14). Then the Roman empire itself was to be dissolved, and the thousand years' reign of Christ on the earth to begin.

Art. II. — WORCESTER'S DICTIONARY.

A Dictionary of the English Language. By Joseph E. Worcester, LL. D. Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brewer. 1860. · 4to. pp. lxviii. and 1786.

For more than a century past the critics by profession have had reason to dread the reviewing of a new Dictionary. For after Dr. Johnson had circumnavigated the world of literature, and, at last, with his rich folio-galleons came safely into port, — when no less a pilot than the Earl of Chesterfield "came out in his cock-boat" to welcome the great arrival, — the sturdy lexicographer aimed at the head of the too-much-presuming boatman one of those blows of which the memory never dies. He had embalmed the fame of his *patron* in the definition which he gave that word.

The letter which he subsequently addressed to him has been a caution* to all later reviewers. We need scarcely say, however, that we have no thought of "patronizing" the new Dictionary, in the few words in which we can speak of it. For thirty-three years — the age of a generation of men — Dr. Worcester's editions of Johnson, and his own later work, have been the authority which has corrected these pages. To him we owe it, then, that at the very least we may say

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* This is not a slang expression, as Mr. Bartlett regards it. Dr. Worcester gives the best authority for it, thus: —

"CÂU'TION (kâw-shun, 94), *n.* [L. *cautio; caveo, cautus,* to beware; Sp. *caucion;* It. *cauzione;* Fr. *caution.*] . . . . .

"2. Injunction; advice; precept; *warning.* 'For thy good *caution,* thanks.' Shak."

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for the Christian Examiner, that, of the generation of men now leaving the stage, those who have read these pages have never here received the slightest wound to that delicate sensitiveness by which one judges of his mother tongue. To Dr. Worcester they owe it, that, so long as they anchored to our pages, they had no speculative spray of fancy spelling dashed over their eyes, and that they have not been deluded by any siren songs which proposed any new nap upon the homespun fabric of the language to which they were born. We have given them Saxon warp, with a figure shot in upon it by Norman woof, and we have never insulted their eyes or their understandings by attempting any gloss, borrowed from some New England silk-weed, over this surface. To this policy, in which Dr. Worcester has been our standard, our readers owe it that, so long as they have read the Examiner, they have been in as little danger from heresies of spelling, as, we are proud to say, from heresies of graver science, — falsely so called.

It is only at this moment, of course, that we can with strict propriety analyze, attack, defend, or in any way discuss the Dictionary which for another generation, perhaps, will be the standard of spelling in these pages. After the standard weights are once adopted, the retailer of literature must make his weights conform. It is not for him then to criticise the calculations of the Birds and Katers to whom the standard is due. As we have here a Dictionary of the English language which exhibits it as it is used to-day by those persons who understand it best, — as this Dictionary gives the result of the life of one man who has studied that language with singular advantages, and without any pet theories of his own, through which to look at it, — as in completing it a staff of students has been engaged, embracing men of singular competency for their duty, — as the best special works on various branches of art and science have been compelled to contribute to its treasury, and as the best advice of our oldest University has been given where it was needed, for precision and comprehensiveness, — this book has a fair chance of being, for many years, the standard of the English language. It will only cease to be the standard, when greater resources of the same kind can be brought together, and digested in the compilation of another dictionary.

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We are called upon, then, to speak of the Dictionary critically for once, and forever after "to hold our peace." There is yet another reason why we must say something on occasion of its publication. We find our own journal cited in it occasionally as one of the authorities in the English language. We can hardly call this an honor, for it is a distinction which we share with the Slang Dictionary, and even with Dr. Noah Webster. But we feel that the distinction, however earned, gives us a right to state, as we examine the book, some of the principles on which we believe the English language is to be studied and to be preserved.

The statement familiar to most of us regarding the vocabularies of the three leading European languages used to be, that the French people use twenty-five thousand words; the English, forty thousand; and the Germans, sixty thousand. We believe that this statement indicates with tolerable correctness the comparative resources of the three languages as used in familiar speech. But, like many of the current statements of conversation, and like many of the facts stated as novelties in the daily newspapers, it has been in circulation about a century, and refers to a period now as long as a century gone by. Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, in fact, contained about forty thousand words. What he had to say could be said by that machinery. But since his time such frequent excursions have been made into the polar regions of the Old English, beyond the north latitude of Sidney, who was Johnson's oldest limit, — so many words have been created for the exigencies of a passing century, — so many again have been dragged forth from the glossaries of Provincialisms where Johnson left them to die, — and so many detected in the careless writing of a very careless century, — that more than sixty thousand words have been added to Johnson's list, and the Dictionary now published by Dr. Worcester contains one hundred and five thousand words, which have been used by English authors of such repute as to give them some title to a place beside the original phalanx, as Dr. Johnson marshalled it.

The condition of the English language, then, as represented in this Dictionary, is not unlike that of a fast-growing American town. In the town of Boston, for instance, there live at

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the present time a very large number of persons who were born here; on the whole, these persons give the character to the town, to its institutions, to its language, to its government. There are, however, intermixed with them, a much larger proportion of persons of foreign parentage. For every forty "natives" there are sixty such "foreigners." This is, as it happens, almost precisely the proportion to be observed in the English language, if we take as natives those words which Dr. Johnson thought worthy of recognition, and regard the additions to his list as old travellers who have returned, or as new emigrants who have arrived since his day. We believe this accidental parallel will serve as a good illustration of the place which these accessions to our language hold. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston welcome gladly the sixty per cent of foreigners as additions to their aboriginal population. But the welcome does not imply any probability that the language spoken in those cities is ever to become a fused tongue, of which forty per cent shall be English, twenty per cent German, as much more Irish, with a little flavor of Welsh, Norwegian, Italian, and Kanacka thrown in. The language is to remain English, as completely as the Constitution remains republican, or the climate temperate rather than arctic or torrid. Precisely the same consideration is due, as we believe, to the so-called additions to our language since the compilation of Johnson. Among the newcomers there are, doubtless, some words which ought to have been included in his lists. There are others born abroad, but of just that mixture of Keltic, Teutonic, and Norman which gives them the native physiognomy and general quality. The rest are useful in a dictionary, — and these are welcome, undoubtedly, — but they are not to be regarded as having any organic place in the constitution of the language. They are, of course, to be registered in any census of it; but it is never to be supposed that the English language of the nineteenth century, as appearing in any standard work of its literature, is to differ from what it was in the eighteenth, by any such variation as that census would indicate. On the other hand, the pure English writer of to-day writes English which would be intelligible to Milton or to Johnson; and yet he so writes it, that the reader of the present time considers that his style belongs completely to the nineteenth century.

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We do not, therefore, consider it any especial merit of a new dictionary, that it contains a large number of words which have not been in its predecessors. Whether those words are merely local or personal, as "*equaled*," introduced by Dr. Webster, on the usage of his own writing-desk, or such barbarisms as "*conversationism*" and "*educational*," tolerated by Dr. Worcester on the very poor authority of the Eclectic Review, they are only to be harbored as a sort of Japanese sailors, or of Kanackas,* whom we send away from us as soon as we can. It is the place of a dictionary to record the fact that such interpolations have been attempted. But it is the place of any person who uses the language to winnow them out from his own threshing-floor, as wretched tare-seed, which will be a pest in his storehouses, and a peril to the harvests of his children.

Dr. Worcester has taken the true course about these emigrants into the English language. It was his business to set them in their alphabetical places, for who shall say that a puzzled reader may not want to know the meaning of such a collocation of letters as *Gambogic*, which affects to be a word, though it is not one. But, while giving them place in his census, which is therefore the fullest list of English words ever used in our time which has been collected, he marks with his fatal R. those which are rarely used. With regard to these words, we advise our readers to use them only as men eat sole-leather, in the last extremities of despair.

On the other hand, Dr. Worcester has never put in a word because he thought it would be well to have one. As little has he put in a letter because it would seem more elegant to have one. And so, again, as he has omitted no words because he thought them useless, he has omitted no letters because he thought them useless. It was an inconvenience of Dr. Webster's Dictionaries, that they exhibited the English language, not even as it was used in the good society of New Haven, — and there is none better in the world, — but as Dr. Webster residing there thought it would be a good plan to have it

* KA-NACK'A, *n.* [Sand. Island *Kanaka*, Nukahirau *enata*; root, *gana* Sanscrit, a man.] A native of the Pacific Islands. (The word is in no Dictionary but Bartlett's, but deserves a place as much as *Kamtchadale*, *Padishah*, *Pagack*, or *Kamachi*.)

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used. They were like the map of a Kanzas town, containing not only what is, but the streets, parks, colleges, and churches which it would be well to have there. The gross scandal of putting these suggestions into a dictionary led to Mr. Goodrich's revision of Dr. Webster's work, in which he carefully inserted the words as they were before they were "improved," as well as with the "improvements." So that, in using that work now, one finds himself dealing at a shop where they have the standard weights and a set of their own, — and the purchaser takes his chance which, in any given instance, he falls upon. Dr. Worcester had no idea of improving on the English language. As little did he attempt to sweep out with his broom the tide-wave of the additions to it. He has therefore given us what is, for better, for worse. The only caution we have to give those who use the book is, to remember that, of what is, a great deal must still be rejected by a conscientious and careful author.

We have taken great pleasure in our study of the etymologies in the new Dictionary. There is nothing for which a dictionary ought to be so often consulted, and yet, we might add, there is no branch of the work of him who makes it, where he may so easily go astray. There is a mania which results from the study of etymology, which we suppose is as distinctly recognized in the lunatic asylums as is religious mania or mathematical mania. The maker of a dictionary must, of course, be constantly watching to save himself from this extravagance. But he is to remember, at the same time, that no one can write or speak the English language with any nicety, without frequent recurrence to the etymologies of its words. Indeed, the only way in which the original English is to be kept in solid phalanx, without injury from its associations with the words of those persons who talk of Kallistons, of Paraffine, and of Euphradian Societies, is a regard for the accurate etymology of the emigrant words and of the natives. From Cotton Mather down, the old school of American scholars, if we may give to them that name, had a passion for seeking the roots of English words in the Hebrew and Arabic. Now, if there is a language spoken this side the planet Venus with which the English has no organic connection, it is one of these

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languages of the Semitic family. And it is, therefore, a safe rule, when you see in a dictionary a bit of black-looking Hebrew or Arabic type, to reject it as a mere Matherism inserted for the display of learning. The few Arabic words we have, like Algebra, Alcove, Almanac, are words distinctly transferred from that language by a process which has no relation to the organic life of ours. It is a merit of the new Dictionary that it insults our understanding with no such useless displays. We could wish, on the other hand, however, that it had more often traced back etymologies in important instances to those Aryan roots to which the Sanscrit gives us a key, as the Dictionary itself says, quoting Bosworth, "The Sanscrit contains the roots of the various European dialects of the Latin, Greek, Celtic, German, and Slavonic." There is hardly, therefore, a root of importance, for the study of which the Sanscrit does not afford some suggestions. It is constantly showing the relations between the Teutonic roots of our language and the Latin; which, without our knowledge of it, would seem completely alien to each other. There will never be a complete etymological discussion of our language without constant reference to that great-grandmother of all the modern European languages, from whom our Latin roots and our German roots are both derived. Of this great-grandmother, Sanscrit appears to have been one of the oldest daughters, and it gives us, therefore, very valuable suggestions in our study. The new Dictionary contains more frequent references to Sanscrit roots than any other which we know; but we could wish that these references were still more numerous. At the word *Fowl*, for instance, we have this valuable note: —

"'From the Anglo-Saxon *fleogan*, to fly.' *Richardson.* — 'From the root of the Latin *fugio*, *fugo*, Greek φεύγω, and signifying the *flying animal.*' *Webster.* — 'The root is the Latin *volo*, to fly.' *Sullivan.*"

But how does it happen that the Anglo-Saxon *fleogan* and the Latin *volo* so nearly resemble each other? The Sanscrit verb shows us. It is *palây*, and, by the inevitable law under which languages grow older, the smooth mute *p* has softened into the sound of *ph*, or *f*.

We are tempted out of our way, to ask how it is that poor

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biddy of the barn-yard, to whom we are so constantly indebted for eggs, for white-meat and for dark-meat, should have no other name than this childish one of her own. Under the word *Fowl*, we find: "2. In a restricted sense, a barn-door fowl." *Hen* means the female of any kind of fowl, but particularly the barn-door fowl. *Cock* is the male of gallinaceous or domestic fowls, — especially used for the dung-hill cock; but for poor biddy's only specific name we are indebted to the children.

"BIDDY, *n.* A childish name for a hen or a chicken." The Dictionary does not give the etymology, which is the Norman "*petit*," with which the Norman hen-wives still call their barn-yard fowls and their dung-hill cocks to be fed. So poor biddy, of all the fowls, gets no picture in the Dictionary. The ducks have a picture, and the geese have two; but neither cock (dung-hill cock) nor biddy (gallinaceous hen of the barn-door variety) has any picture at all!

This remark brings us to the question of the pictures in the Dictionary. Ever since John Locke threw out the suggestion, that it would be a good plan to have little marginal cuts in dictionaries, illustrative of the words which cannot be well defined, it has been a convenient thing for reviewers to repeat, when they had occasion to notice a new dictionary. We hardly dare say how often and how gratefully we have availed ourselves of it. At last Dr. Worcester has taken John Locke's hint, which had lain for near two hundred years, and at the same time the Imperial Dictionary in London has tried the same experiment. The illustration gives a new aspect to a dictionary, and, so far as we have observed, the critics generally, having thus lost the opportunity of exhibiting learning by making a reference to Locke, now say that it is not a good plan to have them. The truth is, that critics are not easily pleased.

For ourselves, we are loyal to John Locke, as, wherever we can be in decency, we are apt to be. The pictures here are very well done; they were drawn for this special purpose, and they irritate the minds of those persons who consult the Dictionary much more rapidly than would words more slowly presenting themselves to the ear. It is easy enough to ask

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why there are not more, if there are any, — why not a dog, if you have a fox? But, really, in a finite world, these questions of limits are absurd. If the reader suspects that there has been a slight ornithological leaning in the corps of editors, let him suspect it; but shall he not enjoy his dodo and his cassowary, because he has no earth-worm or beetle? The illustrations are very numerous, and are admirably well drawn and engraved.

And so we have at last a good Dictionary. It has all the words in the language which any gentleman ever uses, or any lady; and it has sixty thousand more marked with R., or some other caution. So we have the means of understanding the newspapers, without danger that we shall be contaminated as we do so. The pronunciation of every word is marked; and even if we live in the South Park in the new State of Pike's Peak, we may pronounce our English as well as if we lived in Belgrave Square or in Professors' Row. The words are correctly spelled again, and we can leave the book unlocked, and even put it in the children's way, trusting that they will be attracted to it by the pictures of the walrus and the megapodius, without being afraid of their ever writing us letters about "*unbiased worshipers*," or "*unequaled counselors*," or "*unrivaled hights*." We can refer to the book confidently for etymological information, quite sure that we are not to be entertained by any insane absurdity. And, in the delicate shades of meaning, we can be sure in Dr. Worcester's synonymes to find an intelligible guide who can be relied upon. We of the Examiner can read our proof-sheets, certain that, if a correspondent chooses to discuss Aramæan theology, the Dictionary will tell us how to spell the adjective as we prepare his notes for the press. And when that moment comes to any of us, — which comes sooner or later to all, — when we wish to leave the snow-drifts of expiring March for the softer breezes of Oregon, of California, of San Antonio, or of the South Park, — in considering the plans for our emigration, we need make room only for Shakespeare and this Dictionary, as the two worldly books absolutely necessary, with which we may establish our section of a new civilization.

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Art. III. — THE WHITE HILLS.

The White Hills; their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry. By Thomas Starr King. With Sixty Illustrations, engraved by Andrew, from Drawings by Wheelock. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co. 1860. pp. 403.

What peculiar phenomenon would be likely to arrest the attention of an "intelligent stranger," taking a bird's-eye view of that portion of the North American continent lying between the 36th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 70th and 90th degrees of longitude? Would he not mark with surprise, that the lines of an advanced civilization run near by and into comparative wildernesses, — that railroads and canals, with cultivated farms, thriving towns, and opulent cities threaded upon them, dart across prairies, wind over lofty hills, and flash through ample valleys, — that the improvements and luxury of the age glide up to the very sources of great rivers, nestle on the outskirts of unexplored forests, take possession of the brinks of waterfalls, sprinkle the shores of oceanic lakes, — the smoke of the steam-engine chasing away the smoke of the wigwam, the satin-slippered feet of fashion tripping along paths just before pressed by the moccason of savage life? Would he not, in a word, be struck by the fact, that the varied territory under his comprehensive glance was hardly more than fringed and intersected and spotted by the conquest and occupation of a marvellous and restless material prosperity, and that thus were brought into contrast wonderful creations of human enterprise, and vast districts in all the untamed sublimity, unadorned beauty, and unbroken solitude which were theirs ages before the keel of the discoverer ploughed the first furrow on the Atlantic? And if our imagined observer sought for the cause or explanation of this contrast, would he not find it distinctly recorded in the first chapters of our history? There it is written, that the Mayflower brought to Plymouth Rock pioneer missionaries of the best culture the training of sixteen centuries had produced, and that this advance was followed by hosts like unto itself. So the settlement of the land may be said to have been begun

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by a disciplined race, intellectually and morally stalwart, fitted to make the wilderness blossom, and to transmit to posterity the energy, boldness, and skill to penetrate the wildest country with the comforts and embellishments of science and art, and draw out from its hidden places, by bold engineering of various sorts, opulence for their enlarging cities. Thus, then, is accounted for the singular condition of things we have adverted to, — the existence, namely, to so large an extent, of the multiform achievements of human enterprise side by side with nature as it came from the Creator's hand.

We thus bring into view an interesting subject for speculation in many ways; but the allusion to it now is for a special and limited purpose. One of its consequences is an unparalleled amount of travel for pleasure, as well as business. Tourists seeking recreation from wearisome toil, or obeying the edicts of despotic fashion, congregate at watering-places, muster at springs, sail over inland seas, gather at Niagaras and Trentons, and flee to the mountains by thousands every year. This universal journeying must obviously have large influence upon the character of the people, and be, for good or evil, no small part of their education. Any effort, therefore, to instruct the travelling public, — to show how play-time may be put to noble uses, without any loss of enjoyment, — to teach how the God-made country may and ought to elevate and refine the man-made town, — is to be welcomed as a benefaction. And it is because we look upon the volume named at the head of this article as such an effort, promising wide success, that we take it up for a more extended review than we have heretofore been able to give it, — to do what we can to have it read in all the households to which we have access, before trunks are packed for summer excursions.

In a former notice,* we sketched the plan of the book, and praised the typographical elegance and profuse illustration, which put it in the first class among the handsomest issues of the American press. But we confess to a slight reluctance in thus recalling our commendation. As it is sometimes disturbing to have the personal attractions and graceful bearing of a

* Christian Examiner for January, 1860, page 142.

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friend admired to the overlooking of his superior intellectual and moral worth, so we cannot help being a little anxious lest the fair appearance of this volume may conceal the richness of thought, the affluence of knowledge, and the poetry impressed upon its tinted, creamy paper. We should earnestly caution our readers not to look upon it merely as a centre-table gift-book, to be turned over in leisure moments or at evening parties, did we not hope to prove before we close that it deserves repeated perusals, and careful study, — that, like its subjects, its meaning cannot be read by a hasty and superficial eye.

These four hundred pages of descriptive discourse about "the Cathedral district of New Hampshire" contain the most elaborate attempt to picture to the mind's eye the grandeur and beauty of natural scenery which has graced our native literature. In comprehensiveness of outline and fulness of filling up, in unity of purpose and abundance and variety of matter, it stands alone as the most finished work of its kind,—a volume of æsthetic teaching thus far without a rival; and consequently it has a value transcending the well-executed, ostensible object of dealing only with a specified and limited province of New England. But its local worth is first to be considered.

Taking up an essay upon any subject, it is natural to ask what are the qualifications of the writer for the office he assumes. In the present instance the answer is perfectly satisfactory. Even the stranger reader may learn from the work itself what the friends of the author well knew before its publication, that no one is more competent than he to tell all that is to be known, seen, and felt among and in the vicinity of the White Hills. Led by what seems almost a natural instinct, he has lived weeks and months, for half a score of summers, at the mountains, and visited them repeatedly at all seasons of the year. He has mined their ravines, climbed their summits by old and new paths, gone up and down their "notches," traced their streams, made the circuit of them again and again, looked at them from numerous points of view, noted their changeful moods, analyzed them, separated them, grouped them, communed with them in every possible way with the senses; and

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this not from love of adventure, but because he was fascinated by the huge upheavals, and enamored of them and all their surroundings. Hence one peculiar charm of his work. It is evidently a labor of love, with but few signs of labor in it, — a spontaneous production, a speaking from the abundance of the heart. It is not a piece of book-making; you never dream of insulting the author by the suspicion that he went among the hills with malice prepense to get materials for his pen. You feel — so much honest enthusiasm and frank confession of a dominant passion is there in the book — that he accepted the solicitation to write, much as one would yield to the request to prepare the memoirs of a dear friend, — coveting a pleasure, rather than girding himself to a task. Indeed, if a man is what he thinks and feels, and not what he does, we have here rare passages from the autobiography of the writer's soul. With the eye and sensibility of an artist, if not with his cunning pencil, with the imagination of the poet, if not with his rhythmical skill, Mr. King looks, and meditates, and gathers in all the forms and hues of the vast, shifting, rugged, and soft panoramas, for a personal delight, and then brings out his accumulated treasures, freely and gladly, for the delight of others.

Another gift of the author is his power of expression. He commands an inexhaustible vocabulary. Epithets, metaphors, and similitudes press to his service in any quantity and in any shape he wills. His palette is crowded with every hue and shade of language, and his rhetoric becomes painting. The book is a gallery of pictures abounding in variety. The style represents the subject. Paragraphs and sentences and phrases are gloomy and solid, or light and airy; they float or rest, ripple or undulate, leap or glide, flame or sparkle, shift and play, put on and take off all the qualities the respective themes demand. A study of the book will show this is no over-statement. One of its prominent merits is the variety and ease of diction, where the exposure to sameness and stiffness appears almost irresistible. Justice is done to the mountain, as contrasted with the meadow; the silvery cascade, as distinct from the ponderous cataract; the sweet vitality of the intervales, as the opposite of the cold, dead desolateness of the rocky "passes;" — justice

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is done to every grace and force, to all the lines and colors, frowns and smiles, — all the peculiarities of feature and mobility of expression, from the largest to the minutest characteristic, of a series of diversified landscapes, by a style having the flexibleness of music, to embody every desired tone, keep to every requisite movement, and execute the most intricate variations. Relatively speaking, this rhetoric is nearly, if not quite, perfect as to form; whilst it throbs and glows with warm, emotive life.

But the author is receptive as well as original, and so duplicates himself, and adds to his own versatility the co-operation of other minds. Losing nothing of his individuality, he makes a wise selection and a wise use of mental friends, and enriches his pages with an abundance of apt selections, in prose and poetry, borrowing the voices of kindred interpreters to echo and confirm his own utterances. When we add to this, that the volume is written in a reverent spirit, and at the same time in a joyous temper, — the latter no more inconsistent with the former than the play of sunlit vapors around its summit is inconsistent with the solemnity and aspiration of Mount Washington, — there can be no doubt that in Mr. King the White Hills have found the genius, talents, and acquirements qualifying him to be their historian, poet, and painter.

Thus thoroughly trained and furnished, the author gives us a work of rare local value. We could have spared the strictly guide-book portion; but since it is introduced, it is but fair to say that it is well done, giving all the topographical information the tourist needs, with the simplicity and clearness of a well-drawn map, — the thin and barren outlines being occasionally illuminated with exquisite "bits" of description, which, in spite of the writer's self-restraint, will flash out to decorate his most prosaic statements. The compendious chapters on the Exploration and Vegetation of the White Hills (contributed by Professor Tuckerman), the vivid description of the deluge of 1826 and the destruction of the Willey family, the sad romance of Nancy's Brook, the tradition that adds to the peculiar fascination of the "steel-hooded head" of Chocorua, the sympathetic narrative of the hardihood and hardships of the early settlers, the brief biographies of the patriarch Abel Crawford and his son

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Ethan, are pertinent, and serve, with occasional short episodes hinting geological and meteorological facts, to relieve the long series of word-paintings, that might otherwise fatigue and satiate with their superabundant richness. But these word-paintings, and the comments upon them, are the engrossing attraction. The reader is to become the companion of the author, and go with him through the four valleys, hearing him discourse, and learning from him where, when, and how to look so as to feast his eyes, educate his taste, and refresh and elevate his spirit. By doing this, he will learn how little a flying trip or a fashionable tour to the mountains discovers of the sublimity and beauty revealed to those who dwell among them for a while, and commune with them with a studious earnestness. And herein lies an excellence deserving special attention, — that of making the scenery of a remarkable district, easily reached and explored, better understood. The White Hills are not yet known as they should be, and will be. We have no dispute with those who prefer the sea-shore to the mountains. We do not doubt that other countries, and other portions of this country, have far loftier summits, grander rivers, mightier cataracts, vaster plains, than those which diversify the surface of Northern New Hampshire. We admit that the White Hills are neither the Andes nor the Alps, and that it verges upon the vice of Yankee self-glorification to compare Coos County in the Granite State with Switzerland. And yet we maintain that the district, of which this volume treats so admiringly, is one which every lover and student of nature may well hold in high esteem. For variety of feature, loveliness, and relative, if not absolute grandeur, it is a district, or more properly speaking a part of a district, full of banquets for the eye and ennobling suggestions to the soul. It would be a pleasant task to follow the details of Mr. King's demonstration of this fact. But we can only pause with him at a few points of his extensive survey.

At the threshold, as it were, of two of the valley-entrances lies "The Smile of the Great Spirit," or "Pleasant Water in High Places," — whichever may be the correct philological — either of them being the true poetical and descriptive — rendering of "Winnipiseogee." Our author is so in love with this

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lake, and lavishes upon it such wealth of verbal delineation, that, until further reading convinces us of the contrary, we are disposed to fear he will have neither affection nor language left for any other scene. He fills some thirty pages with his own and the poets' eulogy of this island-studded, hill-guarded sheet of water, as if it had been the business and pleasure of his life to live upon its shores and float on its bosom, to note and record all its phases. From this brilliant and eloquent chapter we take fragmentary extracts, — all we have room for, — as significant in intimation as they are faithful in portraiture.

"Many persons suppose that they have seen Winnipiseogee in passing over it in the steamer on their way to Conway and 'The Notch.' Seen the lake! Which lake? There are a thousand. It is a chameleon. It is not a steady sapphire set in green, but an opal. Under no two skies or winds is it the same. It is gray, it is blue, it is olive, it is azure, it is purple, at the will of the breezes, the clouds, the hours. Sail over it on some afternoon when the sky is laden with northeast mists, and you can see the simple beauty of form in which its shores and guards are sculptured. This is the permanent lake which prosaic geology has filled and feeds. And this was placed there to display the riches of color in which the infiniteness of the Creator's art is revealed to us more than in the scale of space. . . . .

"If the lake were to be painted as it may sometimes be seen in the forenoon of a day when clouds are flying over the sun, the water should be dyed the intensest blue, with a single horizontal line of white towards the farthest shore. But if the painter is to report it as it appears a few moments after, when the sun emerges from the clouds, he must make a picture in which there is no deep blue, nor any definite color, but one broad field of glittering and tremulous brightness. Another picture would show the azure surface deepened to indigo, and its usually dark islands rising out light upon the darkness around them. Under a drapery of drowsy clouds, when the shores cut harshly the gray water that is ruffled by the lazy wind, the canvas can glow with no splendors, but will suggest chiefly the throbbing sound of the wavelets that crumble upon the clean beaches

In tender curving lines of creamy spray.

A view taken in smoky weather will show the lake with its delicate web of cross ripples as a beautiful lace-pattern, miles in extent, tinted pale blue, cream-white, and rosy gray. Or as the charming Proteus appears on some clear, calm evening, the artist that copies it must

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stripe the canvas with different-colored zones of varying widths, some opaque, others transparent, according as they reflect the glowing tints of the lower, or the cooler lights of the upper sky.

"And now and then a thunder-shower, in an afternoon when the sunlight gently shimmers over its breadth, comes to try its resources in color effects. It sweeps low across it with slaty wings, and blots out the islands and blackens the water with its rough breath and angry shade. Watch now, after the gusts of rain are spent, the inky darkness of the upper end of the lake. But the islands farther away, just coming into the returning light out of the cloud-fringe, show a white lustre as of new-fallen snow. And when the wrath of the tempest has retreated towards the sea, one can have the privilege, from the hills of Centre Harbor, of seeing a rainbow span the lake, succeeded, perhaps, by a sunset in which the whole surface of the water, responding to the hues above, outvies the rainbow with gorgeous flames.

"A more sensitive eye will not fail to notice the variety of sunset effects by which Winnipiseogee is glorified. The great wreaths of gray and white cumuli, which sailed slowly around the skies' verge during the day, will sometimes melt into the uprising mists of evening, and belt the horizon with a delicate zone of violet and gray. What an exquisite veil is this for the shadowed parts of the hills around the southerly shores of the lake, and what a fascinating contrast to the fine pencillings of pale reddish hues on their sunward outlines! Another evening, the hills are not obscured thus. They stretch a long chain of azure and purple under the southern sky, which is filled over and back of them with masses of irregular, flaky, low clouds of orange, violet, and gray, that float before rich fields of creamy cirrus. These hues run an octave higher than those on the mountains below, and the sunbeams vivify them still more here and there with yellow curves and jagged lines of scarlet. . . . . .

"September is the transition period, from the styles or effects of color in the season's time of growth, to those belonging to the period of decline and decay. As yet the landscape has lost nothing of the fulness of its summer foliage. But richer tints gradually steal into the shadows and darker tones of the landscape, warming the coolness, and breaking the monotony, with flashes of crimson and orange. More purple is shown in the distances of the lake, with richer browns and lighter olives and citrine upon the foregrounds. Nature seems to be carelessly running her hand over the notes, touching and indicating the great chords, before breaking into the full pomp of the autumn symphony.

"And as October comes near, the pale green of the plentiful birches

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mounts into yellow. Some of the maples have turned to scarlet, others orange, others a dull or pale red. The oaks and hardier trees show deep crimson stains running among their dark green masses. The grass-grounds or pastures are becoming yellow. The bared ledges and boulders, so quiet and shy in their light gray suits of summer, stand out conspicuous in blue and purple; and the humble sumachs have advanced from their shadowed places, and are calling attention to their red and yellow plumes. On the borders of the little streams or pools in the meadows, the pink and purple clusters of the thoroughwort blossoms, the blue and white asters, and the epaulet flowers are in their prime; a deep red mingles with the olive of the ferns, and the sweet-brier is hung thick with scarlet berries. These colors mounting and growing richer in hue and mass give the tone to the landscape seen around Winnipiseogee in mid-October." — pp. 71 – 76.

Reluctantly leaving Winnipiseogee, — notwithstanding the anticipation of finer sights to come, — our friend takes us to the pretty village of Plymouth, giving, as we surmount the hills, picturesque views of Great and Little Squam Lake, — vile names for things of beauty. Thence he passes on through Campton, where artists are wont to hover in search of "bits" of the utmost grace, and, as he approaches the mountains, discourses of their high uses until he reaches the Franconia range. Here, as all along the way, he allows nothing to escape his pencil-pen. He outlines and tints all the well-known scenes and objects of interest, — often throwing upon them new light, and photographing them with such distinctness, force, and warmth, that the accompanying engravings become pale and thin and cold beside the flush and feeling of his verbal picturing. From what he has to say of this locality, whose grandeur is softened — we had almost said sanctified — by its loveliness, we can quote only two brief passages. We select the first, to show that the writer's enthusiasm for natural scenery does not prevent him, in the very presence of its noblest specimens, from going above and beyond them with penetrating and reverent thought. After describing the much-wondered-at "Profile," he says: —

"And many, doubtless, have looked up with awe to the Great Stone Face, with a feeling that grander expression of the Infinite power and art is suggested in it than in any mortal countenance. 'Is not this a

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place,' we have heard it said, 'to feel the insignificance of man?' Yes, before God, perhaps, but not before matter. The rude volcanic force that puffed the molten rocks into bubbles, has lifted nothing so marvellous in structure as a human skeleton. The earthquakes and the frosts that have shaken and gnawed the granite of Mount Cannon into the rough semblance of an intelligent physiognomy, are not to be compared for wonder to the slow action of the chemistries that groove, chasten, and tint the bones and tissues of a human head into correspondence with the soul that animates it, as it grows in wisdom and moral beauty. The life that veins and girdles the noblest mountain on the earth, is shallow to the play of vital energies within a human frame.

No mountain can
Measure with a perfect man.

The round globe itself is only the background upon which the human face is chiselled. Each one of us *wears* more of the Infinite art, is housed in more of the Infinite beneficence, than is woven into the whole material vesture of New Hampshire. And the mind that can sap the mountain, untwist its structure, and digest the truth it hides, — the taste that enjoys its form and draperies, — the soul whose solemn joy, stirred at first by the spring of its peaks, and the strength of its buttresses, mounts to Him who 'toucheth the hills and they smoke,' — these are the voyagers for which the Creator built

this round sky-cleaving boat,
Which never strains its rocky beams;
Whose timbers, as they silent float,
Alps and Caucasus uprear,
And the long Alleghanies here,
And all town-sprinkled lands that be,
Sailing through stars with all their history."

— pp. 113, 114.

Our next extract is made for its suggestive conceit, which gives a new and poetic charm to that "little tarn that is rimmed by the undisturbed wilderness," — "better worth visiting" towards evening "for its echoes of color than of sound."

"We have heard of persons that were called 'embodied sympathies. Is not this the true definition of a little mountain lake? It is a mirror, an interpreter of what enfolds and oversweeps it. See what colors and forms it is stained with or hides! The little segment of beach it repeats. The rocks around it it sets below as part of the wall of its under stillness. The climbing trees and the shadow of the steep shores make

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a large section of its borders dim with dusky green. The sky hues, blue or gray, brilliant or sober, dull or joyous, it clothes itself with. It answers to the temper of the wind, with smiling ripples, or slaty churlishness, or heaving petulance. It is glad in the colors of sunrise, and pensive as the flames of sunset cool in the west. Hardly a rod of its surface wears any color, when you look at it steadily, that can be said to belong to itself. And yet it does not merely mimic what is shown to it. It takes the moods of mountain, woods, and firmament into its own being, softly flashes their joy, or is saturated with their grief, and repeats to them their experience, as the heart of a friend returns the color of our fortunes or our moods. The mountains stand in Nature's eloquent hieroglyphics as the types of sturdy and suffering service; the rivers, for unwearied, cheering, life-renewing charities; the little lakes, for the beauty, the sweetness, the refreshment of that noiseless sympathy, not revealing itself in the new products of an active beneficence like the moving waters, — from the rills that gush through tiny lanes of grass to streams that overflow bounty upon the meadows, — but which none the less belongs to the exquisite and sacred ministries of love upon the earth, without which the world would be 'a dry and thirsty land where no water is.'" — pp. 115 – 117.

Leaving the Pemigewasset, which is the western valley, we must next find ourselves with our guiding interpreter — (who has been confessing on the road, as he does whenever opportunity offers, his passion for massive, symmetrical, jagged-peaked Chocorua, — "everything that a New Hampshire mountain should be") — in the valley of the Saco. We linger at North Conway, "a little quotation from Arcadia, or a suburb of Paradise," and are tempted to report all our author says, to justify the application of his figurative synonymes, at first sound seemingly so extravagant. But we must content ourselves with copying only a line or two of his hearty and satisfactory testimony.

"And then the sunsets of North Conway! Coleridge asked Mont Blanc if he had 'a charm to stay the morning star in his steep course.' It is time for some poet to put the question to those bewitching elm-sprinkled acres that border the Saco, by what sorcery they evoke, evening after evening, upon the heavens that watch them, such lavish and Italian bloom. Nay, it is not Italian, for the basis of its beauty is pure blue, and the skies of Italy are not nearly so blue as those of New England. One sees more clear sky in eight summer weeks in Conway,

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probably, than in the compass of an Italian year. The air of Italy is more opalescent, and seems to hold the light in luscious repose, and yet a little unsteady in tint. But for the pomp of bright, clear, contrasted flames on a deep and transparent sky, the visitors of North Conway, on the sunset bank that overlooks the meadows, enjoy the frequent privilege of a spectacle which the sun sinking behind the Notch conjures for them, such as he rarely displays to the dwellers by the Arno or the inhabitants of Naples. How often have we seen such shows from that bank, while the evening song of birds came up from the near orchards and the distant maple-groves of the meadows below, as it seemed too wasteful in Nature to have prepared for the fading canopy of one small village and of one summer evening! Then was the time for the miracle of Joshua, — for some artist-priest, like Turner, to bid the sun stand still, that such gorgeousness might be a garniture of more than a few rapid moments upon the cloud-flecked pavilion of the air. And as the brightness burned off from the hills behind, and the hastening fire mounted from the lower clouds to stain the cirrus, and the west began to glow with the upcast beams of the sunken sun, one could not but feel the aspiration connected with the fleeting magnificence of sunset, which is not the least marvellous passage of Goethe's Faust. We are indebted for the translation to the kindness of a friend, whose knowledge of German is equalled only by his artistic command of English, and who has given a full equivalent of the original in rhythm and grace.

He yields, he vanishes, the day is gone,
Yonder he speeds, and sheds new life forever.
O, had I wings to rise and follow on
Still after him with fond endeavor!
Then should I see beneath my feet
The still world's everlasting vesper,
Each summit tipped with fire, each valley's silence sweet,
The silver brook, the river's molten jasper.
And naught should stay my God-competing flight,
Though savage mountains now with all their ravines,
And now the ocean with its tempered havens,
Successive greet the astonished sight.
The God at length appears as he were sinking;
But still the impulse is renewed,
I hasten on, the light eternal drinking,
The day pursuing, by the night pursued,
The heavens above, and under me the billows.
A pleasant dream! Meanwhile the sun has fled.
In vain, alas! the spirit's wings are spread,
Never will bodily wings appear as fellows."

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The chapter on The Notch — erroneously regarded by many as the one thing to see in a journey to the White Hills — is interesting to read, since in it are the history of the Willey tragedy, with Dr. Parsons's ballad founded upon it, and the sketches of the Crawfords, before referred to. There also are descriptions of cascades and mountain views in the vicinity, limned with the author's usual expressiveness. But the great pass itself, in all its awful sternness and barren desolation, — that precipice-walled, jagged, seamed, terrific gorge, wherein the elements, earthquakes, thunder-storms, floods, and avalanches have spent their fury, working destruction with Titanic force and frenzy, — the pass itself has too much of unity and sameness, in its fearful and oppressive solemnity, to admit of varied description. Our author, therefore, — who instinctively shuns the horrible to cleave to the beautiful whenever he can, thus strives to cast softening light upon this dreary chasm, — this petrifaction of Nature's wrathful moods.

"But to know the Notch truly, one must take the drive from the Crawford House to the top of Mount Willard, and look down into it. A man stands there as an ant might stand on the edge of a huge tureen. We are lifted twelve hundred feet over the gulf on the brink of an almost perpendicular wall, and see the sides, Webster and Willey, rising on either hand eight hundred feet higher still, and running off two or three miles towards the Willey House. The road below is a mere bird-track. The long battlements that, from the front of the Willey House, tower on each side so savagely, from this point seem to flow down in charming curves to meet at the stream, which looks like the slender keel from which spring up the ribs that form the hold of a tremendous line-of-battle ship on the stocks. But perhaps we suggest a more exact and noble comparison if we speak of its resemblance to the trough of the sea in a storm. They are earth-waves, these curving walls that front each other. They were flung up thus, it may be, in the passion of the boiling land, and stiffened before they could dash their liquid granite against each other, or subside by successive oscillations into calm. . . . . .

"Standing over the Notch, also, we are struck with the grace that curbed the rage of the murderous avalanches. We remember talking once with a man who was very indignant at all poetic descriptions of natural scenery. 'Now,' said he, 'what can be honestly said of this Willey Notch, but, "Good Heavens, what a rough hole!"' Yet, on

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Mount Willard, it is the delicacy of slope and curve, and not the roughness, that is prominent. 'Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary,' and it is beauty which the savage forces serve at last. The waste of the mountains is not destructive, but creative. In the long run, the ravage of the avalanche is beneficent. And here we see how, as its apparent cruelty is overruled by the law of love, its apparent disorder is overruled by the law of loveliness. 'The hand of God, leading the wrath of the torrent to minister to the life of mankind, guides also its grim surges by the law of their delight; and bridles the bounding rocks, and appeases the flying foam, till they lie down in the same lines that lead forth the fibres of the down on a cygnet's breast.'" — pp. 203 – 205.

It was something of a mistake, in our judgment, to put the valley of the Connecticut last in the book, if the author's plan had any eye to climax. That place belongs to the Androscoggin as the fit culmination, — inasmuch as there the mountains proper, with their monarch, tower up to receive a nearly undivided worship. We shall take the liberty, therefore, to reverse the arrangement, and go north before going east. And yet our guide will not quite let us do this. His sense of the artistic fitness of things rebels occasionally against the limitations of his plan. Even in this chapter we find him in the Glen, or skirting the base of Madison, or unrolling the whole panorama of the magnificent ride from Gorham to Crawford's by the "Cherry Mountain Road," and indulging, whenever and wherever he can find excuse for so doing, in graphic pictures of "distant views" of the great ranges. The representative passages we select, besides furnishing a strong contrast, will exemplify still further the writer's versatility. "Winter effects," from Lancaster and elsewhere, are thus given: —

"If one could enjoy the open air as freely, and find it as genial, in the winter as in the summer, we cannot doubt that the colors on the bleached landscapes would be found as inviting as those which blend into the summer pomp. The distant views of the great range in summer are certainly far inferior to those we enjoyed in the approach to them in March, when it swelled soft, vague, and golden, — a pigmy Monte Rosa, on the northwestern sky. Lafayette has never shown itself to such advantage in July as it did then from Lancaster at evening, when the blustering clouds parted to let its white wedge be visible, burnished to an amber blaze by the setting sun, and driven as one crys-

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tal into the chilly sky. . . . . On all the bald ridges and crests the silver splendor was relieved against the blue. This makes the richest charm of the Alps; and one could then drive among the White Hills as through a mimic Switzerland. Yes, and the colors must have been essentially the same. For the artist that would paint the magnificence we saw on the Pilot Hills and the White Mountain range at sunset and sunrise from Lancaster, must dip his brush into as exquisite ambers, plum tints, gold, and purple, as he would need to interpret the baptism of the evening upon Mont Blanc, or the morning glow upon the Jungfrau.

"During the same visit we enjoyed a ride among the familiar hills of the Androscoggin Valley, and can recall the contrast to the general wildness given by a drive from Gorham to the Glen. The high walls which guard that road from the northwesters had saved the snow from drifts. It lay for six miles perfectly even, to the depth of some six inches, without blemish; and unbroken, except by a large sled-load of hay that had been driven over it, and which, overhanging the runners, had left delicately pencilled lines all along the untrodden margins of the path. The green on Carter and Moriah, at the left, was turned into rusty bronze, and the snow which shone through the stripped trees around the roots of the forests made their sombre sides look as though they had been powdered with crystal dust. Every blackened stump along the roadside seemed an Ethiopian head crowned with a graceful and stainless turban. Each rock in the river-bed showed a fantastic nightcap. The springs were 'stagnant with wrinkling frost.' And at every turn, old Washington was bulging into the cold and brilliant blue with irregular whiteness; or Madison, in more feminine symmetry, displayed a fresh view of sloping shoulders clasped to the waist in ermine.

"But the most impressive features of the scene were those which started out by moonlight. Then, with the thermometer at twelve below zero, and the wind cutting as you drove against it, as if determined to bite into the brain, one might easily fancy himself in an arctic latitude. The full moon turned the great hills into ghastly domes and pyramids of chalk. The air seemed weird. There was no sound of brawling brooks, or running river, or chirping insect life, as in summer. The stars flashed without sympathy in the bleak sky. Going from such a ride to the volumes of the lamented and heroic Kane, we could understand better the pictures that line the memory of the survivors of that devoted band. Those stiff, white peaks towered as gravestones over the creative forces that once filled the valley with joy, and painted it with verdure.

"But what, we thought, is so mystic as the processes of Providence

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most familiar to us! Only a few weeks will pass before the frosty whiteness shall be chipped from those cliffs; the crystal splinters that fly from the sunbeams' chisels will melt into music, and feed the mosses of the mountain-top, and sing in the rills that dance towards the sea; and the stars will glow over the bursting promise of June." — pp. 377–379.

Crispy, frosty, sharp, crystallized, and hard the descriptive diction here! But see how it can melt, rush, and flow, and fling the freshness and brightness of sunshine and rainbow hues on the drenched earth, when occasion requires. After being locked up in the Franconia Notch by a long storm, the author seizes the opportunity of a brief "holding up" to escape, and, with "a patch of blue overhead," he takes to the wagon, and is off.

"Every note in the scale of fresh-water music was struck by the full baptism of those persistent clouds. You could hear the plash and babble of a new-born streamlet, — the first infant cooing of a river, — as it came soft over the bent grass; the dash down a channelled bank of a rivulet; the full-throated gurgle of a runnel through a rocky passage; the singing of a rill that swept across a pasture and dived under the little corduroy bridges of the road; the anxious baritone of a hurrying stream that seemed fearful it could not do all the business it had on hand for that day. The air was filled with the chorus of the rain. . . . . The great business of the hill-tops, during the drought, seemed to be to conjure the rain for the parching fields; now, they had their hands full to get rid of the superfluity. The cataracts and cascades are tasked to their utmost. No room for beauty now. Duty and use are the overseers of to-day. Next week, the feathery spray may break over the rocks, and the thin tides break themselves in silvery plaitings among the forest dells and chasms, over the mossy stones; but now, all the scuppers of the mountains must spout to save the pastures and harvests from ruin. . . . . .

"And now let us take a ride towards the village of Jefferson. Can anything be more fascinating than those ripples of shadow that flow down the twin peaks of Madison and Adams, chased by flushes of sunshine, which again are followed by thin waves of gloom? Let the horse walk as slowly as he will, while we feast on this thrilling unsteadiness of vesture that wanders and widens from pinnacle to base. Ride on, till summit after summit of the White Mountain chain comes out, and then return, facing their broad fortresses of forest crowned with naked rock. Notice how the shadows spot them alternately, so that

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Washington and Adams are kindled into light, while Madison and Jefferson are black-muzzled with darkness. Look at the flashes of sunlight on the hills, that turn acres of the clean-washed wilderness into patches of shining satin. Watch that deep shadow drop from a burly cloud to spread a velvet cloak on the mountain. Look off now, as the village of Jefferson lies at your feet, and see the Green Mountains, the Pliny Hills, the Franconia range stand up as exhibition figures to show off the deep furs, the silky lights, the velvets, brown, blue, and blue-black, that are woven out of the sky looms to-day, to invest them.

"But the most surprising beauty awaits us as we ride opposite the great ravine of Mount Adams, and look far up to the cascades, with which the rains have enlivened its cliffs and sides. Now for a display of mountain jewelry, such as is rarely seen. A long, narrow, leaping stream gleams aloft, — a chain of diamonds dropped from the neck down the bosom of the mountain. The sun looks full upon it, while the wings of the ravine are in deep shadow, and you see a broad wrapper adorned from the collar downwards with flashing gems. They blaze like lumps of sunshine, — like the diamonds on the crown of the skeleton in the pass, upon which young Arthur trod,

> and the skull
> Brake from the nape, and from the skull the crown
> Rolled into light, and, turning on its rims,
> Fled like a glittering rivulet to the tarn.

The shadow falls upon the cataract, and it is quenched, — put out more quickly than its own water would extinguish a small fire. It does not seem possible that a shadow can so utterly cancel all traces of the lovely sheen which lay in the gorge a moment before. But, if we watch the passing away of the shade, we shall see the sunlight strike the top of it again, and run down, waking diamond after diamond into glow, till the string is all alive again. Near this thread of brilliants is a huge rock over which a stream of water is falling, and *that* blazes like a mighty Koh-i-noor. The shadow ripples over that, too, and quenches it. It flows off, and instantly the rock burns again in the meridian light. O the splendor of this picture! We stop the wagon to watch the curious wrestle of the waters, — vapor destroying the dazzling glory that leaps from water; we can hardly tear ourselves from the charming show of the sun's repeated gift of jewels, and the clouds' continually renewing envy." — pp. 385 – 388.

If any bias is to be detected in our author, it is for the Androscoggin Valley, — though Winnipiseogee and North Conway

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are unquestionable rivals in his affections. One reason for this apparent partiality may be that the eastern side has been made accessible more recently than the other sides, and has more of novelty and surprise for the tourist. But besides this, there is in, around, above, and below Gorham enough to warrant the strongest expressions of enthusiasm. From the full portfolio of gorgeous and delicately-tinted finished drawings and bold, vigorous sketches Mr. King brings from this section, we can exhibit but a few specimens, as invitation to a study of the whole collection.

About four miles below the Alpine House, the river is crossed by the Lead Mine Bridge. From this point the following rapturous paragraphs come with their ecstatic fervor.

"Ah, what charming effects have we not seen on Mount Madison from this bridge, conjured by the clouds and sun! The gold on the sharp apex of its pyramid in the early morning; the ever-shifting perplexity of lights and gloom investing it in a sultry noon when thunder-clouds sail over it; and at sunset once or twice in dog-days, volcano-pictures, when piles of vapor that towered over it and buried the summit were lurid around the lower edges, and seemed to burst from a fiery heart within, as the sides of the mountain were kindled almost to a ruby hue by the last beams of day! It is not a single mountain, but a gallery of pictures, that Madison stands for in our memory. See it in a clear and tender afternoon, and how delicately every lower ridge in its foreground is hinted by the western light, that reveals no shrub, no forest, no precipice, but only symmetry and softness, and a proud height in perfect proportion with its mass and slope, piercing an azure heaven with a double peak of tender brown! We may measure its altitude now in feet by our angles, and find that its summit is nearly a mile from the level where we stand; we may exhaust what science can tell of its substance and strata; but all the truths of its structure are nothing to the *expression* it wears in this favorable air. As it sits enthroned thus over the stream and farms whose green and silver wind up to its base, can it be the mountain which looks so desolate in the ride to the Glen, that is pathless and savage to the feet of the climber, that stands out so ugly in the forenoon light, which, lying stern upon it, makes its harsh crest look covered with soiled sole-leather? Now, as we gaze upon it, we see what it was really made for. . . . . Its divine gala-dress is upon it. Its desolate rocks have ripened. Art has flowered out of the bitter geological stem. Its strata and truth, and all its endowments for use, are merely the rough touches of the brush, intended to be viewed,

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not near the canvas, but a few miles distant, that they may be smoothed and shaded into unspeakable beauty. And the colors, too! What nettings of pale gold upon the sloping edges of its lesser peaks of azure, when the late afternoon light glances down its eastern side! Or, if a large mass of cloud has covered it in deep blue shade, and the sun, finding a small opening, pours through a widening cone of rays, how will the lower towers and domes of the mountain temple blaze out in splendid radiance, like gilded roofs with gemmy walls! . . . . .

"One spectacle which it was our fortune to witness from the Bridge repeats itself more frequently than any other before our eyes: — a sudden shower driving down the valley, completely hiding the mountain with gusts of rain, — the gradual thinning of the wet veil, till the outline of the beautiful pyramid of Madison is seen dim and lofty on its pedestal, — the soft blue sky of evening revealed again through the cloudy west behind it, — and when the rain entirely ceased, the rising of most delicate mists from the surface of the mountain, to be smitten by the sun, which breaks through a cloud-rift, so that they hang over the broad pile as a veil of silver gossamer, say rather, a texture of light itself, — light condensed into a gleaming web, almost too bright for a steady gaze! The mountain seemed transfigured. It was not so much swathed with splendor, as translucent. One might have thought he was looking through some rent in the curtain of matter, upon a celestial hill, sacred as Tabor once was, with 'garments white and glistening.'" — pp. 380 - 382.

To one who has passed so much of the vacation-time of his life among the hills, and been in his hours of recreation their docile and eager pupil, the mighty summits, of course, vouchsafe revelations not granted every day, or to transient callers. A peculiar and splendid "reward of merit" given by these mute but eloquent giant-teachers to their favorite scholar, is thus daguerreotyped: —

"The vapors hung in heavy masses over the principal ridges, but the west was clear. There was evident preparation for a magnificent display, — a great banquet by the sun to the courtier clouds, on retiring from office that day, — a high carnival of light. As I turned the horse towards Gorham, taking the Moriah range full in view, a slight shower began to fall down the valley of Mount Carter, and a patch of rainbow flashed across the bosom of the mountain. From point to point it wandered, uncertain where to 'locate,' but at last selected a central spot against the lowest summit, and concentrated its splendors.

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"The background of the mountain was blue-black. Not a tree was visible, not an irregularity of the surface. It was one smooth mass of solid darkness, soft as it was deep. And the iris was not a bow, but a *pillar* of light. It rested on the ground; its top did not quite reach to the summit of the mountain. With what intense delight we looked at it, expecting every instant that its magic texture would dissolve! But it remained and glowed more brightly. I can give you no conception of the brilliancy and delicacy, the splendor and softness, of the vision. The rainbow on a cloud, in the most vivid display I ever saw of it, was pale to this blazing column of untwisted light. The red predominated. Its intensity increased till the mountain shadow behind it was black as midnight. And yet the pillar stood firm. 'Is not the mountain on fire?' said my companion. 'Certainly that is flame.' Five minutes, ten minutes, fifteen minutes, the gorgeous vision stayed, and we steadily rode nearer. Really we began to feel uneasy. We expected to see smoke. The color was so intense that there seemed to be real danger of the trees kindling under it. We could not keep in mind that it was celestial fire we were looking at, — fire cool as the water-drops out of which it was born, and on which it reclined. It lay apparently upon the trees, diffused itself among them, from the valley to the crown of the ridge, as gently as the glory in the bush upon Horeb, when 'the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush; and he looked, and behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.'

"It seemed like nothing less than a message to mortals from the internal sphere, — the robe of an angel, awful and gentle, come to bear a great truth to the dwellers in the valley." — pp. 271, 272.

The old proverb, "Nothing venture, nothing have," is true of the seeker for Nature's "best," as it is of the seeker for fame and wealth. Mr. King believes in the adage, and is indebted to his faith in it for prizes more precious to him than fine gold. The forbidding aspect of savage Mount Hayes, overlooking Gorham from the eastern bank of the Androscoggin, raised the suspicion that it held some treasure in its keeping, to be shown only to those persistent enough to face its desolate crest. So one day, when the heat was torrid, he started, with an artist friend, to scale the scarred eminence. The difficulties were more than they bargained for. But they persevered, wrestling for "nearly three hours of a sultry midday with the wilderness, in order to win the secret of its sum-

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mit," — and with what success, let the historian of the hot, climbing, stumbling duet, performed with weary feet, sweating brows, and thirsty throats, tell.

"The great reward of the scramble was, that it gave me my *first view* of Mount Washington. I mean to say, that from no other point where I have had the fortune to stand does it rise before you from valley to crown in imperial estate. Perhaps you remember Punch's advice to the splendid Koh-i-noor jewel in the Crystal Palace, which did not flash as it should have done, among the other gems: 'If you are the great diamond of the world, why don't you behave *as such*?' Mount Washington is the sovereign dome of New England, but it is very difficult to make him behave 'as such.' In the Glen, Mount Adams looks higher and more proud. Seen from North Conway, he is not isolated from the rest of the range, and wears no grandeur about the summit. At Lancaster he looks humpbacked. In Shelburne he appears heavy and dowdy. From Bethlehem he shows grand height, but unsatisfactory form. The village of Jefferson, on the Cherry Mountain road, about thirteen miles from Gorham, furnishes the best position for studying his lines and height in connection with the rest of the range. But Mount Hayes is the chair set by the Creator at the proper distance and angle to appreciate and enjoy his kingly prominence.

"All the lower summits are hidden, and you have the great advantage of not looking along a chain, but of seeing the monarch himself soar alone, back of Madison and Adams and seemingly disconnected with them, standing just enough to the south to allow an unobstructed view of the ridges that climb from the Pinkham road up over Tuckerman's Ravine, to a crest moulded and poised with indescribable stateliness and grace. It completely dimmed the glory of Mount Adams. The eye clung ever fascinated and still hungry upon those noble proportions and that haughty peace. We were just far enough removed to get the poetic impression of height which vagueness and airy tenderness of color give. The day was perfect for such effects. If I had been told that the dome was ten or twelve thousand feet high, I should not have been disappointed. Arithmetic was out of the account. It was satisfactory, artistic mountain-eminence and majesty that we were gazing upon. Ah, what ripples of mystic light, waking colors uncertain, momentary, but ecstatic, would run in the warm noon over that serene pinnacle! And yet we knew that feet were climbing, tired and faint, up its jagged desolation, and savage gales, possibly, were howling over the rocks, as though art and joy have no right on this rough globe!

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How delicately the shadows were tinted, to our eyes, in dimples of that crest, which were fissures scarred with land-slides and threatened by tottering crags! Was not the pleasure the more subtile to us because we knew that the splendor was illusion? And yet was not the seeming illusion nobler truth than the near and accurate reality? In the Creator's estimate of this globe, is it not probable that Mount Washington is a picture, rather than some thousands of cubic rods of rock?" — pp. 293, 294.

This bringing out the majesty of Mount Washington will go far to substantiate our remark, that the chapter in which it occurs, with that which immediately follows, should have been the climax of the volume. Did our limits permit, we might fortify this criticism by further proofs, — from the accounts of several ascents of the mountain-in-chief, the descriptions of the Glen, the narrative of the visit to Tuckerman's Ravine, where winter "lingered in the lap of July," to dine under the snow-arch, and especially from the vigorous, buoyant, and thrilling record of the first excursion "up the tilted floor of the granite gulf" of Mount Adams, — known to many, as it should be to all, by a name the author modestly withholds. But for these, its grandest pages, we must refer the reader to the book itself. If not one of those who, having "seen mountains only under a dull sky, or through very clear air, on a bright day, between the hours of nine and four, suppose that all descriptions of their splendor are either deliberately manufactured for the sake of fine writing, or illusions of fancy;" if not of that class "who bolt scenery, as a man driven by work bolts his dinner at a restaurant," and make a rush to look at Niagara, between two trains, for the sake of saying they have "been there;" if he be not, by reason of some defect in his make, or too exclusive concentration of thought upon his precious self, without susceptibility to the grand and lovely in nature, — and thus incapacitated from judging, — he will, on a careful and sympathetic examination, assent to all we have claimed in behalf of this volume as a treatment of the White Hills by a master's hand.

In speaking of the local importance of this volume, we have anticipated much of what we had to say of its æsthetic application to other scenery than that to which it is nominally

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devoted, and of its general value. The truth is, a remarkable section of New Hampshire has served the author, half unconsciously perhaps on his part, as a text and treasury of illustration for essays on nature and disquisitions on landscape. In each of his descriptions the teaching reaches far beyond the subject immediately under his pen. Hence it were an error to imagine that the full character of the work is represented by its restricted title.

This is a point we are anxious to emphasize. We should be glad to inspire our readers with faith enough to remove "the White Hills" to their own homes, and to take them with them wherever they go. What the writer says of the mountains may be said with equal truth of all natural scenes. "Unless we find them something more than ministers to outward health, unless we find them quarries of a truth more substantial than geology, and treasuries of water more vital than their cascades pour, we see them only externally, and treat them too much as toys. The senses simply stare at nature. The intellect, by means of the senses, discerns regularity and law; artistic taste enjoys the bloom and beauty which possibly slip unnoticed from the eye of science; but it is the faculty of spiritual insight which penetrates to the inmost meaning, the message involved in the facts and processes of the material creation." To promote the culture thus indicated must be one of the effects of this book: and there is need, felt or unfelt, of its instructions. We say this in no fault-finding mood. Everything is going on well in the process of social development, whatever ugly and exceptional facts may at times obtrude themselves to produce temporary doubt and discouragement. The unexampled precocity of the land in material greatness is already budding and blossoming with refinement, and there is observable in many directions a gradual ascension from the sensuous to the spiritual, quickened by the growing belief that "the life is more than meat." Literature, poetry, art, and recreations garlanded by pure taste, are winning increased regard, as wealth purchases leisure, and the necessity for disbursing follows upon the success of accumulation. As it occasionally happens that the children of illiterate parents, who have somehow heaped up large fortunes, get a

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costly education and all the accomplishments, — so the gold of a new country, easily gathered by the first generations, is spent sooner or later for intellectual and moral luxuries. It is in directing this expenditure, and also in showing how rare delight may be enjoyed by multitudes, without money and without price, that a book like that under review is a timely minister of enduring benefit. Few can read it without having opened to them new sources of pleasure, and without discovering that daily life has truth and beauty hitherto overlooked. Should a coarse animal utilitarianism grin a sneering doubt at this statement, we advise it to put itself to shame at once by taking home the rebuke of its stolidity in this admirably pointed bit of irony.

"Let us remember that pure delight in natural scenes themselves is the crown of all artistic power or appreciation. And when a man loses enthusiasm, — when there is no surprise in the gush of evening pomp out of the west, — when the miracle of beauty has become commonplace, — when the world has become withered and soggy to his eye, so that, instead of finding his countenance 'fresh as on creation's day,' he looks at each lovely object and scene, and, like the travelling Englishman, oppressed with *ennui*, finds 'nothing in it,' — it is about time for him to be transplanted to some other planet. Why not to the moon? No Winnipiseogee is there. There are mountains enough, but they show no azure and no gold. There are pits enough, but there is no water in them; no clouds hover over them; no air and moisture diffuses and varies the light. It is a planet of bare facts, without the frescos and garniture of beauty, a mere skeleton globe, and so perhaps is the Botany Bay for spirits that have become torpid and *blasé*." — pp. 60, 61.

This extract is from one of the best passages in Mr. King's book, — his noble vindication of enthusiasm, — wherein the glory and uses of the eye, and the cost of material in the arrangement of a landscape, are briefly set forth in sentences teeming with significance. Hints are here thrown out that are more or less expanded throughout the volume. We have, for example, an episode on the uses of mountains, — in the physical economy of the earth and to the moral and emotional sentiments, — which will impart new meaning to every hill; numerous sentences and paragraphs that can easily be col-

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lected into instructive lectures on form and light and color; condensed dissertations on the distinctive shapes, hues, and voices of the trees and their foliage; illustrations of the law of focal distances; delineations of the varying effects of vapor and cloud; analyses of moonlight; — in short, recognitions and representations more or less elaborate of all the elements and forces, all the harmonies, diversities, and contrasts, all the underground and surface and sky work, that enter into the composition of natural scenery, and furnish it with the mysterious power, according to pre-ordained laws of reciprocal action, to charm the sense and move the soul of man. We have all this, and we have it by the instrumentality of a rhetoric at first sight seemingly only fanciful and ornate, but found on closer and critical scrutiny to be largely composed of epithets that are symbols of facts and truths, metaphors that are condensed demonstrations, and figures of speech that are logical arguments, wreathed with the flowers of poetry. And when we add, that, without the first particle of stereotyped cant, and in harmony too with the natural play of occasional sparkles of wit and flashes of genial humor, a healthful religious spirit pervades the volume and fills the closing pages with lessons of fraternal charity toward man and profoundest reverence toward God, we have surely said enough to establish the position, that it is far more than a descriptive essay of the four valleys that run among the White Hills. We feel an assurance that we are not exaggerating the general value of this book, from the fact that the discovery of it, so to speak, was an agreeable surprise to ourselves. We were prepared for its local accuracy, but not for its comprehensive suggestiveness. And it is our conviction, that few can read it without having the education of the eye helped for the study of nature and art. It will teach them how to look with more intelligent discrimination upon landscape painting, and give them reliable tests to guide their judgments. It will make them more observant of the light that illumines, the clouds that shadow, and the trees that overarch their daily walks. It will reveal to them the still splendor of the night, the serene joy of the morning, and the resplendent glories that enfold the retiring day. It will teach them, in short, how

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much there is in the heavens, on the earth, and by the seaside, that is not dreamed of in that low, narrow, and false philosophy that makes life consist in the gratification of appetite and the exercise of the intellect, deems the mountains cumbrous obstacles to internal improvements, regards the rivers as railroad engineers, values the valleys solely for their growths of grain, and believes that the end of the whole material creation is to add to the accumulations of trade and commerce.

It was a mistake, we incline to think, growing out of frank impulses of the heart and prodigal generosity of friendship, to introduce into a volume of so much permanent value transient incidents, without meaning or interest to the majority of readers. To one of these references, however, we will not object, since the deserved admiration therein expressed for "the passionate and poetic genius of a 'gifted companion'" is prefaced by and made to illustrate a beautiful conceit of the imagination.

"Is it possible, do you think, that Nature is ever conscious of human observation, and that she can change at all, can blush into rarer loveliness, when an eye that has a passion for beauty studies her? I have sometimes fancied, standing on the sea-shore after a storm, with an enthusiastic party, that the waves caught the excitement of the company, as actors feel the applause of the audience, and that they redoubled their efforts in answer to our cheers. And often it has seemed to me that the mountains know when critical and appreciative visitors come to be refreshed and invigorated by their grandeur. They will rise in apparent height, or mottle themselves with a richer complexity of hues, or select a rarer vestment from their aerial wardrobe, or look more solemn than usual, or more sublime. If it is one of the great purposes of Nature to get transmuted into human thought and emotion, and to reappear in human character, why may we not conjecture that the presence of a gifted guest has occult power enough, sometimes, to charm the most reverent look out of a hill, and induce the light to pour its most cunning splendors on the air, — so that the glory of the Creator may pass into the feeling of genius?" — p. 296.

Now, if we assume the converse of this subtile and exquisitely worded fancy to be true, the mountains the coming summer will be of sad countenance, and wear shadows and mists

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for mourning, in sympathy with troops of human friends, at the absence of one, the intense gaze of whose appreciative soul has drawn from them their grandest and loveliest expressions. But if the hills are as unselfish as he affirms, in personifications attributing to them conscious thought and emotion in their sufferings and services, they will soon put off the sombre aspect of private grief, and, moved by higher than personal considerations, rejoice at his going away, probably to get, and certainly to do, great good.

When this commendation of "The White Hills" reaches our readers, its author may be entering through the Golden Gate the harbor of San Francisco. Many of those readers, who "have him in their hearts" for his fervid and logical discourses on the highest themes, or for the joyous wit and wisdom of his spontaneous talk, will join in the hope, we cannot forbear expressing here, that the new scene of his labors may bid him welcome, enrobed in the richest and softest hues of a Pacific sunset; an omen to his native and educated instinct for beauty of a twice-blessed Christian ministry, — none the less Christian because there will mingle with its speech and work the influence of an enthusiastic passion for the natural world, as full of manifestations of the law, the wisdom, and the love of its Creator.

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Art. IV. — ARMINIUS AND ARMINIANISM.

1. Jacobi Arminii, *Veteraquinatis, Batavi, SS. Theologiæ Doctoris Eximii, Opera Theologica.* Prostant Francofurti. Anno 1635. 1 vol. Small 4to.
2. *The Works of* James Arminius, D. D., *formerly Professor in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Latin. To which are added Brandt's Life of the Author, with considerable Augmentations; numerous Extracts from his Private Letters; a Copious and Authentic Acconnt of the Synod of Dort and its Proceedings; and several interesting Notices of the Progress of his Theological Opinions in Great Britain and on the Continent.* By James Nichols, Author of "Calvinism and Arminianism Compared in their Principles and Tendency." In three volumes. London. 1825.
3. *The Works of* James Arminius, D. D., *formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Latin.* In three volumes. The First and Second by James Nichols. The Third, with a Sketch of the Life of the Author, by Rev. W. R. Bagnall, A. M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Auburn and Buffalo: Derby, Miller, and Orton. 1853.
4. *The Creed of Arminius, with a Sketch of his Life and Times.* By Prof. Moses Stuart. Biblical Repository. April, 1831.
5. *Arminius.* By Rev. W. F. Warren, A. M. Methodist Quarterly Review. July, 1857.

The first three works cited above have no such identity of character as a glance at their titles might suggest. The volume first named is one of the latest editions of Arminius printed in the Latin language. It contains, with unimportant exceptions, all his authentic writings, together with a sketch of his life in the funeral oration by Bertius. The English version, projected by Mr. Nichols, was completed only through two volumes, the third having for some reason failed to appear. It is accompanied by a huge mass of notes, — a *moles indigesta*, presenting a formidable and discouraging aspect to the general reader, but furnishing much valuable information to the student of the religious history of those times. The American publication is the only complete edition of the works of Arminius in the English language. Nichols's translation of the first two volumes is

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carefully revised, and the third faithfully and judiciously translated by Mr. Bagnall, whose ripe scholarship admirably fits him for the task. The cumbrous notes and clumsy appendices of the English edition are omitted, and the whole is preceded by a brief but very graceful sketch of the life of Arminius. The whole work is creditable to both editor and publisher, and is a valuable addition to our theological literature.

Jacobus Arminius (James Hermann or Von Harmine in the unscholarly Dutch vernacular) was born in the village of Oudewater, near Utrecht, Holland, in 1560. It was the very year in which Melancthon died. In this same year, too, was held the Conference of Poissy, where the more than two thousand Protestant churches of France pleaded for religious freedom before the king and princes of the realm, in a plea rendered unsuccessful only by the shrewd but reprehensible artifice of the Cardinal of Lorraine. Luther had fallen asleep fourteen years before; Calvin, worn out with his extraordinary labors, had still four years to remain; and Farel, though for some time superannuated, lived yet five years. Some five years previously, Latimer and Ridley had passed through the fires of martyrdom kindled by the "Bloody Mary," and Mary herself had more recently followed her numerous victims. The Reformation had now thoroughly permeated the English masses, though the government of the stately Elizabeth had scarcely any Protestant characteristic save that of the independent supremacy. It was industriously seeking to strangle Puritanism, which had lately appeared, and, though yet in its swaddling-clothes, was proving itself a lusty and troublesome youngster. The great Protestant idea had taken possession of many of the German States, of Switzerland, of Scandinavia, and of Holland, the country of Arminius.

The parents of Arminius were respectable people of the middle rank in society. His father died while the son was yet an infant, and his mother was left in straitened circumstances. He was adopted by Theodore Emilius, a learned, benevolent, and pious priest, who had suffered much in the cause of the Reformation, and had lived many years in exile.

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He had the lad thoroughly instructed in the ancient languages, and was careful to imbue his mind with the principles of virtue and religion. Doubtless through the influence of their excellent friend, who early discovered in him indications of uncommon genius, he was led to devote himself to the work of the ministry. To this high purpose he consecrated all his powers, and with an earnest, reverent, yet cheerful spirit, applied himself to the requisite preparation for the solemn office.

In his fifteenth year he was sufficiently advanced in his studies to enter the University. Just at this time his pious patron died, and all his prospects seemed blighted. Scarcely, however, had he time to give way to despondency before a new friend appeared in the person of Rudolphus Snellius, a mathematician of some note, and at that time Professor in the University of Marburg. He, too, had been for many years an exile, because of his efforts in the revolt from Popery. He was a native of the same village with Arminius, and being at Utrecht, and hearing the story of the young man, he became deeply interested in him. Finding him to be a youth of unusual promise, he took him to Marburg and placed him in the University. Scarcely was he settled in his new position, when he received intelligence that the Spaniards had attacked Oudewater, burned the village, and slain whoever came in their way, not even sparing the women and children. Full of alarm, he hastened to his native town, only to find his fears too well grounded. His mother, sister, and brother, with all his near relatives, had perished. On foot, and with a desolate heart, he returned to Hesse, and again entered upon his studies. Not long after, hearing that the new University at Leyden was open for the reception of students, he repaired thither. He soon greatly distinguished himself here, as well by his rapid progress in scientific pursuits, as by his excellent spirit and earnest piety.

After remaining six years a student at Leyden, he was recommended by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam to the guild of merchants in that city, as a youth of extraordinary abilities, promising great usefulness to the Church. The corporation determined to assume the expense of further educating him at

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some foreign University; he, at the same time, binding himself to the service of the Church in Amsterdam during his life. At that time Geneva was the great resort of the Protestant students in divinity throughout Western Europe. Thither repaired Arminius, just when Beza was at the zenith of his fame, and advocating the doctrine of absolute predestination with greater rigor than even Calvin himself had done. Arminius attended the lectures of this celebrated Professor, and warmly attached himself to him.

At Geneva he began to manifest that spirit of free inquiry, and that disposition to step from the line of established precedents when convinced that they were wrong, which became a prominent feature of his character. He had some time before become dissatisfied with Aristotle's philosophy, and having read the writings of Peter Ramus, he at once adopted his system of dialectics. Ramus was one of the earliest revolters from the Peripatetic philosophy which had so long held sway over the European intellect, and for his independence he had suffered not a little persecution. Still his extraordinary abilities gained for him the support of many eminent men, and, in spite of his philosophical heresies, he was made Royal Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence in the University of Paris. A passage in his subsequent life indicates the temper of the times. After he had secured peace with his Aristotelian foes, another great war arose against him, because he taught that in pronouncing *quisquis* the *qu* should be sounded, instead of pronouncing it *kiskis*, as formerly. Such a daring innovation was deemed a crime scarcely less than his revolt from the Stagirite, and so fierce was the controversy that the courts of justice were obliged to interfere. With extraordinary consideration, they decided that every one might pronounce Latin as he saw fit! Ramus afterwards abandoned the Roman Church, and was expelled from his professorship. He perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew; his disembowelled and mutilated corpse was drawn about the streets by his Aristotelian adversaries, and thrown into the Seine.

Arminius had adopted his philosophical system. The views of Aristotle were regarded at Geneva, as elsewhere in Europe, as the summit of perfection. When, therefore, our young

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Dutch theologue began, first in private, and afterwards publicly at the urgent solicitations of friends, to give lessons on the logic of Ramus, he greatly provoked the Professor of Philosophy, and gave offence to some of the directors of the University. On this account he left Geneva, and repaired to Basle. It is at this point that Bayle, whose philosophical deism was but the logical sequence of his early Calvinism, to both of which he finds Arminianism equally antagonistic, animadverts on what he calls "the fondness of Arminius for new things." This was probably nothing more than the disposition before spoken of, to ascertain truth for himself, and to adopt no man's opinions on religious or philosophical subjects as a finality. Beza is reported to have warned the young man "against approving new thoughts, without having thoroughly investigated them." "It is a thing," said he, "which Satan often makes use of, in order to mislead distinguished men." This, too, is quoted as an opinion of Calvin. Professor Stuart calls this sound and judicious advice; and thinks that, "had Arminius taken it, he would have never been the head of a party which is called by his name, and he would have avoided many a scandal and sorrow, and much disturbance to the Church of God." All this is excellent, and all perhaps literally true. Yet *Nomine mutato de te fabula narratur.* How would this same advice apply to Calvin and Beza, and the disturbances in their day? Even the amiable and excellent Andover Professor has had some such sins imputed to him, and to those who, both before and since his death, were his coadjutors in an enterprise aiming at the occupation of new theological ground. Singularly enough, too, the opponents of the advance movement contemptuously style it the *New Arminianism!*

At Basle, Arminius acquired great honor, and much deference was paid to his abilities and his integrity. Within a year, however, the feeling of intolerance at Geneva having subsided, it became desirable for him to return. On the eve of his departure from Basle, the Faculty of Theology proposed to confer upon him, at the public expense, the title of Doctor in Divinity. This, with characteristic modesty, he begged leave to decline, alleging as a reason, that "to bestow a Doctor's degree

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on a person so youthful in appearance as he, would tend to diminish the dignity and respect which should always attach to that sacred title." This reason would hardly hold good at the present day.

After pursuing his studies for some time longer at Geneva, he took a journey through Italy. This journey, though it proved advantageous to him, not only in the way of that culture which comes from travel, and by intercourse with learned men at the schools which he visited, but also from a personal observation of the abuses and abominations of the Papacy, was yet the source of trouble to him on account of the dissatisfaction excited among his patrons by some evil-disposed persons, who misrepresented his motives, and gave a slanderous report of his conduct during his tour. Happily, however, these calumnies were readily refuted, and after a few months more at Geneva, he went thence with the highest testimonials as to his character and accomplishments from the Faculty of the University, and especially from Beza. The latter, in a letter to the magistrates of Amsterdam, speaks of him as "possessing a mind most admirably prepared to fulfil his duty, if it should please the Lord God to accept of the use of the young man's ministry for his own work in the Church."

After a brief probationary exercise of his gifts he was formally and unanimously accepted by the Amsterdam Classis, and installed as a pastor in one of the churches of that city. He began his public ministry in 1588, in his twenty-ninth year. He at once became very popular as a preacher. His voice was agreeable, and his manner attractive, while his discourses were ardent and effective.

It was during the second year of his ministry that Arminius was led to re-examine some of the doctrines to which he had all along assented. Coornhert, a man of great piety and much ability, who had rendered important services to the Reformation and to his country, at the peril of life and the sacrifice of many temporal interests, had in 1578 attacked the peculiar views of Calvin on Predestination, Justification, and the punishment of heretics. In a discussion with the two Calvinistic ministers of Delft, he assailed these dogmas in a bold and powerful manner, and afterwards published his views in a pam-

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phlet. The Delft ministers replied; but instead of urging the theory of Calvin and Beza, they abandoned it, and argued against Coornhert on *sublapsarian* grounds. This reply coming to Martin Lydius, Professor at Franeker, he greatly disapproved its sentiments; but, not venturing to answer it himself, sent it to Arminius, with a request that he would refute it. At the same time Arminius was solicited by the Ecclesiastical Senate of Amsterdam to answer the pamphlet of Coornhert. To the double office thus consigned him he was nowise averse. He had himself adopted the extreme supralapsarian view of Beza, that "the eternal decree of God in predestination was positively and absolutely to elect to eternal salvation certain persons, and to reprobate others he *had not then decreed to create*." The opinion of the Delft ministers was, that "*after God had made a decree for the creation* of mankind, and had foreseen the fall of Adam, he positively and absolutely determined to elect to eternal salvation certain persons, without any antecedent reference to Jesus Christ." Coornhert believed that "the decree of God in respect to predestination was, out of *men already created and fallen*, to elect those who would answer by the true obedience of faith to the call of God."

Arminius zealously entered upon the work of defending the doctrines of his old friend and master. But when he accurately weighed the arguments in favor respectively of the first two views presented above, he found himself irresistibly inclining towards that of the Delft brethren. Further investigation, pursued with a determination to find, if possible, a satisfactory solution of this problem on a Scriptural basis, led him in turn to abandon the doctrine of the Delft ministers, and to embrace substantially that put forth by Coornhert!

It may be proper at this point briefly to sketch the history of the doctrine of Predestination up to the time of which we are speaking, in order to a better understanding of the position of both Arminius and his opponents. During the first three or four centuries, we find nothing in the Greek or Latin fathers respecting *irresistible grace*, or *predestination* in the sense in which this term has been latterly used. They did not undertake to settle their doctrines of Free-will and Divine Agency

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on a philosophical basis. They preached the common-sense view of the importance of practical holiness, and exhibited the motives which appeared to them calculated to secure it, never for a moment doubting that whatever is wrong is ultimately to be referred to man, and that the economy of grace proceeding from God is the most convincing proof of the tenderness of his compassion for mankind. Augustine appears to have been very much of the opinion of Origen and the earlier fathers on this point, previous to his controversy with Pelagius. But the position which he then took respecting the moral condition of man logically necessitated some new view of man's relation to God. At this view he arrived in his old age by attributing both sin and salvation to the purposes of God. His earlier and later statements are inconsistent, and we find him quoted by subsequent controversialists on both sides. The doctrine was certainly not regarded as essential to orthodoxy, but as a matter of metaphysical speculation.

About four hundred years after Augustine, Gottschalk, a monk who had devoted himself to the study of metaphysical theology with unwearied diligence, and who was inflamed with a desire to solve all the mysteries with which that science abounds, convinced himself of the truth of the doctrine of eternal predestination, not merely in the mild form proposed by Augustine, but in its most repulsive and horrible aspect. He openly and zealously inculcated the opinion, that God had from eternity predestinated a few to eternal life, and the remainder to eternal damnation. Gottschalk's views met with little favor, and the less because of the personal enmity of his Archbishop. He was terribly persecuted and cruelly tortured, till he made a forced recantation, and burned the writings in which he had set forth his obnoxious notions. The question continued to be discussed by the different sects of the Schoolmen till the time of the Reformation, but without either side incurring the charge of heresy, or making the doctrine a test of orthodoxy.

The German Reformers allowed this problem to occupy the same position it had previously held in the Roman Church. Luther, it is true, had in the early part of his career insisted upon the Augustinian theory, as became an Augustine monk.

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So had Melancthon; but neither of them urged it as essential to Evangelical Christianity. The latter very soon abandoned it as untenable; and though Luther never explicitly avowed his change of opinion, he at least tacitly sanctioned the course pursued by his coadjutor. Both were anxious to inculcate practical sentiments, and they exhorted their followers to avoid questions beyond their comprehension.

Calvin's mind was differently constituted. He was unwilling to leave any doctrine respecting man's relations to God open to speculation. His own conversion was a violent rebound from Romanism, and he found in the *horribile decretum* not only what satisfied his own positive character, but what placed him in the most thorough antagonism to the Papacy. The absolute Divine sovereignty, and the utter incompetency of the human will, so far as merit is concerned, together with the aforesaid *decretum*, in virtue of which God elected and reprobated without any regard to conditions or character, presented prominent features of opposition to the Papal supremacy, to the whole system of supererogatory works, and all penances and pilgrimages by which men secure salvation for themselves or others. In this relation of Calvinism to the Romish Church we find one great element of its success. In addition to this is the fact that the adherents of the Papacy were everywhere the friends of absolute government, while Calvinism naturally tended to a republican theocracy. The positive character of the Calvinistic system is also to be taken into the account. Men do not like to pin their faith on negatives. They prefer something actual and affirmative, though it involve considerable absurdities. The ability of Calvin and those he gathered about him at Geneva made the school very famous. It was the only really great Protestant University in Western Europe. To it resorted most of the candidates for the ministry from that portion of the continent, so that the views of Calvin and Beza were easily propagated among the Reformed churches.

For a time men might find refuge in such a system from the superstitions and abominations of the Papacy; but a theory so unnatural and repulsive could not always hold sway undisturbed. It was not strange that opposition should be encoun-

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tered in Holland, where at that time the intellectual activity of the people was probably greater than at any other in their history. Holland also had received the reformation from Germany, and the writings of Erasmus and Melancthon, in neither of whom was there any sympathy with the new dogmas, had been largely circulated. Nor was it singular that a bold reasoner and independent thinker like Arminius, when he ceased to regard Calvinism as in contrast with Romanism, and began to compare it with Scripture and reason, should revolt from its teachings.

Of course he abandoned the task of refuting doctrines of whose truth he had become convinced. He applied himself to a still deeper study of these subjects, diligently reading the Scriptures, and comparing with them the writings of the fathers and of the later divines. Confirmed in the view which had before presented itself to his mind, he yet abstained from any public attack on the received opinions, and, for the sake of peace, reserved the conclusions at which he had arrived. But after a few months he was convinced that he ought to declare his dissent from some prevailing errors; and in his interpretation of Scripture he advanced sentiments which were in accordance with his enlarged notions of God's economy in the salvation of men. This became his settled practice in 1590. It provoked some, though not serious, opposition. The next year he alarmed some of the ministers still more by his lectures on the seventh of Romans, in which he explained the last part of the chapter as describing a sinner under legal conviction; "in the same manner," says Stuart, "as Martin Bucer had before explained it, and all the fathers of the Church before the days of Augustine; and in like manner as nearly all commentators, whether evangelical or neological, have of late done." This raised against him the cry of "Pelagianism." The accusation was the more plausible from the fact that Faustus Socinus, under the name of *Prosper Dysidæus*, had recently published an exposition of the same chapter, and had advanced similar sentiments. The Ecclesiastical Senate of Amsterdam, being informed of these charges, summoned Arminius before them. The points in controversy were discussed by him and a minister named Plancius. He corrected many

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false reports concerning his teachings, and replied with much spirit to the imputation of Pelagianism, declaring that he utterly rejected the errors peculiar to that system. He defended his own opinions by referring to Bucer, Erasmus, and the early teachers of the Church, and proved that he had taught nothing inconsistent with the Confession and the Catechism. He added, that he by no means considered himself bound to adopt all the private interpretations of the Reformed churches, and claimed the liberty and the power to expound the lively oracles, and any passage in them, according to the dictates of his own conscience. His defence appears to have been satisfactory to the Council, though private individuals still gave him some disquietude.

This was augmented when, in 1593, he expounded, in a series of sermons, the ninth of Romans. Instead of following the method of Calvin and Beza, who chiefly base on this chapter the doctrine of absolute predestination, he asserted that the Apostle adhered to the same design here as in the previous chapters, which was to vindicate the doctrine of *justification by faith* from the several objections raised by the Jews. These sermons elicited much and bitter animadversion among the more rigid predestinarians, and this was by no means diminished when they found that the preacher was rising in favor with the Lutherans and other anti-Calvinistic sects. Violent discussions ensued; the cry of heresy rang out more fiercely than ever; again the Ecclesiastical Senate took cognizance of the matter, and Arminius promptly appeared before them. The Moderator intimated that complaints had been made concerning his recent sermons, and in the name of the presbytery besought him to avoid dissension, and to preach the same doctrine as his colleagues. Arminius disclaimed all design of dissension, and all charges of heresy, challenging investigation, and declaring himself ready instantly to meet it. He adroitly but legitimately replied to the admonition of the presbytery, that it was uncalled for as respected him; and, in virtue of the same right which his brethren exercised towards him, he advised and besought them not to declare anything which was at variance with the Scriptures or the received forms of consent, — "that it was as much their care to live in amity with him, as for him

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to be on similar terms with them, while both sides should labor to preserve concord in those things to the truth of which all had subscribed." He did not claim to entertain, nor to teach, views which were in harmony with those of many of his brethren; but he argued that those points wherein they differed were such as no confessions of faith had settled, and in respect to which diverse sentiments had been tolerated for many centuries. Yet he stated that, if it were incumbent on every teacher of the Reformed churches to adhere strictly and precisely to the terms of the Confession, and if, when in quoting Scripture any one departed a hair's breadth from those terms, it was instantly construed into an enormous offence, it would not be a matter of difficulty to convict the greater part of his fellow-laborers of the same crime. At the close of this speech, no one urging anything further, Arminius was acquitted. The Moderator congratulated him, and the assembly dissolved.

His opponents, though defeated, were not silenced. Other rumors, affecting his theological reputation, were industriously propagated. Once, when he was absent from the presbytery, a resolution was passed requiring him "to declare, without any obscurity or wary circumlocution, his sentiments on all the articles of faith;" and if he betrayed any reluctance to do this, "that certain theses and anti-theses should be prepared, on the subjects of which a conference should be held with him." He did not hear of this till about twelve days subsequently. A few weeks later he was present in the presbytery, and was reminded of this vote by one of the members. He rose in his place, and in an animated tone challenged all to come forward who might wish to communicate any particular in his sermons which they deemed worthy of reprehension. No one answered the challenge; but one member complained that his sermons on the ninth of Romans had been applauded by the Lutherans and Anabaptists, and others of doubtful orthodoxy, and thought it might be rationally inferred from this that he taught doctrines at variance with those of the Reformed churches. Arminius denied the sequence, and insisted that it was very surprising, when so many persons of discordant views united in applauding the sermons, that none of his brethren

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in the presbytery were able to *point out* any unscriptural opinion, if any such existed. One of his opponents then stated, that though he had not made positive declarations of censurable doctrine, yet he had expressed himself ambiguously and equivocally. This also he denied, and demanded the instances, in order that he might correct himself. No proof was offered. Seeing that some were still unappeased, he still two or three times urgently invited and demanded of them to openly divulge whatever objection they had to his teachings.

At this point inquiry began to be made for Plancius, who was his most resolute opponent, and who happened to be conveniently absent. He was hastily summoned to the Council, and was there reminded that, as in the absence of Arminius he had occasionally stated objections to his doctrines, he ought now to state them in his presence. Plancius hesitated to stand forth in the invidious character of an *adversary;* but as he could not honorably evade the responsibility, he presented some statements of Arminius which he thought did not accord with the sentiments of the Reformed Church. These did not touch the doctrine of predestination, but were opinions concerning *original sin*, the *merit of good works*, and the *immortality of angels*. Arminius corrected the misapprehensions of these statements, and explained his views as being in harmony with the Confession and the Catechism. He added, that he had never been conscious of teaching anything contrary to the standards of faith in the Reformed churches, and that he received such doctrine and article in those writings in the very sense in which they are expounded by nearly all the Reformed pastors. The presbytery again promptly acquitted him of all charges of error, and he was no more annoyed in this way during his ministry in Amsterdam.

It will be observed in the foregoing narrative, that the opponents of Arminius always charged him with Pelagianism, not with opposition to the doctrine of Predestination. This explains their vacillation and his boldness. They were not yet prepared to insist upon the new dogma as a test of orthodoxy, and had every reason to fear that, if the matter should be exposed to public discussion, they would be overwhelmingly defeated. Though really opposing him on account of his views

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on predestination, they were anxious to convict him of heresy on other grounds.

There now ensued to Arminius ten years of comparative quiet, during which he lived in great amity with his colleagues, and was held in the highest estimation by the people of his charge. He had married in 1590, about two years after his settlement, a lady of great amiability, refinement, and piety. She was the daughter of one of the senators of Amsterdam, and appears to have been excellently qualified to be the wife of such a man. They had nine children, all of whom survived their father, though most of them died in early youth. But domestic enjoyments did not deter him in his eager search after Truth, whom he was "prepared to embrace with both hands, by whomsoever she might be shown." In 1597 he formed an intimacy with Francis Junius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and opened a correspondence with him on the subject of predestination. Junius was a moderate predestinarian, and endeavored to remove the difficulties of Arminius by proposing a somewhat more palatable theory than the one commonly advanced. The examination of his theory by Arminius was never answered, though Junius lived six years after its reception.

In 1598 he wrote his *Examen Modestum Libelli Perkinsii.* The work here reviewed was a treatise on Predestination by William Perkins, a Professor in the University of Cambridge, England, who had taken high ground in favor of the *decretum absolutum.* The reply is an able one, and is published among the works of the author. During the two subsequent years he was engaged in various literary and theological labors, in addition to his ministerial and pastoral duties. Among these was the commencement of a "Synopsis of Commonplaces in Divinity," which, however, he never completed. About this time also he and Uytenbogardt moved the States of Holland in favor of a new translation of the Scriptures, by that profound Hebrew and Greek scholar, Drusius. In this they failed, evidently through the jealousy of some of the ministers, lest such a translation might advance the interests of the anti-Calvinistic party.

In 1602 the plague made terrible ravages in Holland, and especially in Amsterdam. In this public calamity Arminius

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showed himself a faithful pastor, ready to minister, even at his own peril, to the suffering and dying victims. This pestilence proved fatal to both Francis Junius and Luke Trelcatius, Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. In filling these vacant chairs public attention was almost immediately directed to Arminius, and he was forthwith invited to succeed Junius. The people of his charge and the inhabitants of Amsterdam generally protested against his removal. The Senate also interposed its authority, — a formidable obstacle, when we recollect that he had placed his services at the disposal of this body for life. Every effort, however, was made to secure him for the place, and persons of great influence in the nation and in the Church urged upon the city magistrates the importance of the matter. Among these were Cromhoutius, Supreme Judge, and Prince Maurice, the Stadtholder. He was finally released from his engagement at Amsterdam, and proceeded to Leyden. The appointment provoked much opposition from the ultra Calvinistic ministers, who feared the consequences of elevating to such a position a man whom they regarded as heterodox in respect of vital doctrines of religion. Francis Gomarus, at that time the only remaining Professor at Leyden, was one of these opposers, though he professed to be nearly reconciled about the time of the election.

Arminius received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in July, 1603, and on that occasion delivered an eloquent oration on "The Priesthood of Christ," which is still extant. After his entrance on the duties of his professorship, he discovered that the theological students were much given to metaphysical speculation and the discussion of complicated scholastic questions of no practical importance, to the neglect of the Scriptures. This evil he endeavored to remedy, and had to some extent the co-operation, though not always cordial, of his colleagues. "He recalled," says Bertius, "that ancient masculine and hardy method of study; and, as far as possible, he withdrew those erratic candidates for holy orders from their wanderings, and brought them back to the fountains of salvation, — those pure fountains whose pellucid streams refuse to flow in muddy channels." It has sometimes been made a

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pretext for attack on Arminius, that he was afraid of metaphysical studies, having no genius for them, nor any culture in that direction. That this is a mistake Professor Stuart amply testifies, and any person may ascertain for himself who will take the trouble to become acquainted with the true philosophical reputation of Arminius, and the character of his writings. He undoubtedly saw that some of the Calvinistic doctrines depended more on metaphysical ratiocination than on the word of God, and he was not willing that an undue relative prominence should be given to the former.

He also exerted himself at this period very strenuously in the cause of Christian unity. He advocated the largest toleration compatible with the integrity of the Christian faith. Errors both in doctrine and practice there might be, and these might be pertinaciously adhered to; but he thought there was a remedy; "not in swords, halters, racks, and gibbets, nor yet in burning people alive, — but in entreaties, gentle and friendly instructions, and in the example of a holy conversation." He was always strenuously opposed to persecution for opinion's sake. Indeed, his notions of religious toleration placed him at a still wider remove from the high Calvinistic party, and were a distinguishing feature of his relation to them. That this party through a great portion of its history has given painful evidence of an intolerant spirit, we need not stop to argue. How much soever the world may owe it for efforts in behalf of political liberty, its religious liberty was simply "freedom to worship God" *Calvinistically*. These two projects of Arminius — the recalling of the divinity students to the simplicity of the Gospel in their studies, and the effort to promote unity and harmony among the several denominations and parties in the Church — occasioned the jealous suspicion that, in addition to his many doctrinal heresies, he was attempting to introduce ecclesiastical innovations.

His colleague, Gomarus, whose hostility from the first had been scarcely disguised, exhibited a growing envy. This was enhanced by the course Arminius saw fit to pursue in his theological lectures. It became his lot, in the division of labor among the Professors, to discuss the doctrine of *Predestination*. His views on this subject had been known to the Curators of

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the University, and to the public generally, before his election. There being no reason why he should conceal his sentiments, he freely maintained that "Divine predestination is a decree of the *good pleasure* of God in Christ, by which he determined within himself from eternity to justify believers on whom he decreed to bestow faith, to adopt them, and to endow them with eternal life to the praise of his glorious grace. Reprobation is a decree of the wrath or of *the severe will* of God, by which from eternity he determined, for the declaration of his wrath and power, to condemn to eternal death unbelievers who, by their own fault and by the righteous judgment of God, will not believe, as men who are placed beyond a union with Christ." In discussing these tenets, though so different from those promulgated at Geneva, he did not deem them novelties, nor present them as new discoveries. He also abstained from animadverting on those who held opposite doctrines, and was careful to detract nothing from the great reputation of Calvin and Beza.

Not long after, he also subjected to public examination his theses on "The Church," and on "The Sin of our First Parents." In discussing the latter subject, he took occasion, in the presence of Gomarus and Trelcatius, to refute the necessity of the first sin, and to establish its contingency. This disputation he conducted with his usual moderation, requesting of the audience "that they would themselves diligently examine the argument he had propounded," and added his customary declaration, that he was "prepared to yield to those who would teach him greater verities."

This discussion occasioned a great storm of opposition. His colleagues had not attacked nor criticised his opinions at the time they were uttered, as it was their privilege to do if they dissented from his views. He knew Gomarus had publicly pledged himself "to examine and discuss *every* opinion about predestination, and to add his own and confirm it by proofs." This Arminius expected; and he averred that, "if that very celebrated man can produce such arguments as will not admit of an answer, I will be one of the first to subscribe to his sentiments, and to recant my own." But Gomarus was impatient for the fray. He could not wait for the proper time.

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In opposition to the regular course, and out of his turn, he ordered to be exhibited certain propositions of his own upon the very topic which, according to the invariable practice of the University, Arminius had begun to discuss in the course exclusively assigned to himself. Gomarus prefaced his discussion with a speech of much bitterness, making an almost direct personal attack on Arminius. The tenor of the propositions defended by him was, "that the object of predestination was creatures rational, salvable, damnable, creable, lapsible, and restorable; that, moreover, out of these indefinitely foreknown, God had, as an almighty ruler, on one part foreordained, according to his own right and good pleasure, some particular creatures to his own supernatural ends; . . . . . and, on the other part, that he had destined others, who were from all eternity rejected from eternal life, to death and endless ignominy; and that he had done this for the purpose of making known his most free ability, wrath, and power towards the reprobate, and his saving grace towards the elect." Arminius was present at the disputation; but, though feeling injured at the manner in which he had been treated, he took no notice of the enmity which was so evident. In a letter to his friend Uytenbogart, written the next day, he manifests a most gentle and forbearing spirit. "I know," says he, "and my conscience is my witness, that I have neither said or done anything by which I could give Gomarus just cause of offence. I shall also be easily reconciled to him, though his conduct was most annoying. It is unlawful for me to hate any one, or to retain anger, how just soever it may be, against any person. I am taught this doctrine by the word, the spirit, and the example of God, who is described to us in the Scriptures. I wish he would teach me not to be grieved on account of anything, unless for that which may deservedly be attributed to me as a real fault. Let this compass me as a wall of brass; *I have no personal consciousness of being culpable.*"

That he might not seem to desert the vindication of the truth, nor to be distrustful of his own cause, he soon afterwards prepared, for the sake of his divinity students, an "Examination of the Theses proposed by Gomarus for Disputation." From this time the contest went on with greater violence than

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ever, not now confining itself to the halls of the University, but spreading through the churches and producing great agitation. The odium of this excitement fell principally on Arminius, as having introduced novel doctrines, and as attempting to change the faith of the Reformed. It was a dispute not to be terminated with the lives of the principal contestants, but to go on for we know not how many generations.

In the beginning of the year 1605 Arminius was elected to the office of *Rector Magnificus* in the University. It was a token of the high esteem in which the Curators of the University held him, and was the means of augmenting his dignity and influence. But it was also an occasion of fresh envy. It certainly did not diminish the animosity of certain persons, who continued clandestinely to operate against him. He was accused of various heresies, on no stronger grounds than that he had sometimes adduced in his controversies the same arguments as those made use of on similar occasions by others than Calvinists. At one time it was pretty extensively rumored that he was a Papist, and was in league with Papal emissaries to recover his countrymen to the religion of Rome. At first he paid little attention to these reports. He considered that no other effect was produced by these attempts, and the preposterous diligence with which they were made, "than that he, an insignificant individual, (who could not possibly attain to celebrity by his own virtues, and concerning whom scarcely a person out of Holland would otherwise deign either to know or to say anything,) was thus rendered every day famous and noble." But as these rumors became more frequent and annoying, he held a public disputation on "The Roman Pontiff," in which he defended the position "that he was an adulterer, and the pander of the Church; a false prophet, and the tail of the dragon; the adversary of God and of Christ; the Antichrist; the evil servant who beats his fellow-servants; one who is unworthy the title of Bishop; and the destroyer and spoiler of the Church." It would seem that these terms were quite as bitter and denunciatory as necessary; still they did not satisfy his accusers. He afterwards produced still more violent philippics. These, it is true, were not more severe nor extravagant than the customs of the times permitted; they were,

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perhaps, scarcely equal to the style of Luther and of Calvin; but they were foreign to the ordinary temper of Arminius, and were evidently occasioned by the pressure of calumny. Sometimes "oppression makes a wise man mad."

Notwithstanding all these detractions, which affected his reputation abroad, his popularity in Leyden greatly increased. An immense number of students were attracted to his lectures by the gracefulness of his manner, and by his perspicuous interpretation of Scripture. His public discourses, characterized as they were by a practical tone, and free from those scholastic features which necessarily pertained to theological discussions, gave him great celebrity, and drew multitudes to hear him. This popularity, as Professor Stuart surmises, vehemently excited the malevolence of Gomarus, who became more virulent than ever.

Early in the year 1606, according to annual custom, he resigned his office of Rector of the University, and on that occasion delivered an oration "On Religious Dissension, its Nature and its Effects." This is one of the most readable of his productions. It is written in good style, and characterized by an excellent spirit. The sentiments in advocacy of religious toleration are noteworthy as being far in advance of his age,—in fact, they are scarcely inferior to any on that subject advanced within the present century. His plan of a General Synod for the adjustment of religious differences has been frequently referred to by his followers as presenting a happy contrast with the actual proceedings of the Synod of Dort. It is the more noticeable from the fact, that, as his opponents admit, had an assembly been called at this time, the sentiments of Arminius would have been likely to prevail.

During the next year he was invited to a conference with Hippolitus a Collibus, Ambassador to the United Provinces from the Elector Palatine. Attempts had been made to prejudice this statesman against Arminius; but, with a candor which does not always characterize public men, he determined not to pronounce against a man before hearing from his own mouth what his sentiments were. At this interview the Leyden Professor openly explained to the Ambassador his views on the disputed topics. This explanation was so satisfactory to

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Collibus, that he desired it committed to writing, which was accordingly done, and it is still extant among our author's works.

In 1608 Arminius was summoned by the States of Holland and Friesland to appear at the Hague, to enter into a conference with Gomarus, in the presence of four other ministers. The design was to devise some method of settling the dissensions between the parties. They met, but Gomarus appears to have desired to avoid the conference. This, however, was not permitted. After considerable extemporaneous discussion, they were directed to present their views in writing. This, too, was very unpalatable to Gomarus, who wished to stand only in the position of a critic of Arminius. But the magistrates persisted, and the statements were presented, with the animadversions and strictures of each on the sentiments of his opponent. The members of the Supreme Court perused the writings, and at once pronounced their opinion, that the controversy did not at all concern the chief points of the Christian religion. They required both to cease contention, and to teach nothing contrary to the Creed and Catechism. Arminius, with his usual tolerance, avowed his opinion that the errors of Gomarus and his friends were only those of the judgment, and not such as necessarily to endanger salvation. But his opponent declared that the sentiments of Arminius were such "as would make him unwilling to appear before God, his judge, if he himself entertained any that resembled them."

Who ever knew a decree of the civil power to put a stop to religious agitation? It certainly did not in this case. The disputants did not cease to defend themselves, nor to attack one another. About this time there were printed and circulated thirty-one articles of an heretical character, or supposed to be such, the sentiments of which were ascribed to Arminius. Some of these were utterly at variance with his teachings; others contained his views ingeniously modified; and others still were caricatures of his expressed opinions. To these he replied in writing, and the "Apology" forms one of the most interesting portions of his works. His criticism of many of the propositions is exceedingly keen; he boldly announces his views, and boldly defends them.

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It was in October of the same year that he was summoned by the States-General to appear before them, and give an account of his religious sentiments. This summons he promptly complied with, and presented that extraordinary address and compendium of his theological views which is embraced in his works under the title of *Declaratio Sententiæ.* It was delivered before the States in Dutch, but was afterwards translated into Latin by an unknown hand. This furnishes the most compact and comprehensive statement of his opinions to be found in all his writings, though he has not, of course, there fully argued the various propositions he lays down.

The strife not even now ceasing, though so many councils, both civil and ecclesiastical, had failed in any respect to condemn Arminius, he was again summoned by the States the next year to meet Gomarus before them, each accompanied by four ministers of their respective parties. This conference was interrupted by the illness of Arminius. He had been troubled with a bilious disorder for some time, and had experienced a violent attack of it previously to his former appearance before the States-General. It now began to manifest alarming symptoms, and to set all remedies at defiance. It was no doubt greatly aggravated by the anxiety of mind resulting from the calumnies and misrepresentations of which he was the victim. Nor did these malevolent insinuations diminish with his increasing sickness. His left eye had become dim, and his arm was much swollen. This led his enemies to affirm that he must have been above all other men singularly wicked, judging from the nature of his chastisement. They quoted and applied to him these passages in Zechariah. "Their eyes shall consume away in their sockets," and "the sword shall be upon his arm and upon his right eye, his arm shall be clean dried up," &c. Bertius indignantly denounces "such an enormous, detestable, and impious" use of Scripture. He also remarks, that "it was not, after all, 'the right eye' that was disordered, but the left one;" and "that his arm was not 'clean dried up,'—on the contrary, it was much swollen."

Amid all his sufferings he appears to have maintained his usual firmness of mind. He conversed cheerfully with his

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friends, made all the requisite arrangements of his affairs, commended himself frequently and fervently to God, and in his will left a testimony to the sincerity of his religious professions, and of his liberal and tolerant disposition towards all the followers of Christ. He fell asleep on the 19th of October, 1609, in the fiftieth year of his age. He had adopted as the motto of his life, "BONA CONSCIENTIA PARADISUS."

Was Arminius an Arminian? Is there any distinct scheme of doctrine to which the term Arminianism is properly applicable? If so, what is it? To answer these questions will be our object in the remaining pages of this article.

So many vague, inadequate, and contradictory descriptions of what purports to be Arminianism have been set forth within the last hundred years, and so many misrepresentations have been repeatedly and persistently promulgated concerning it by hostile writers, that it has been largely doubted, on the one hand, whether there were any such distinct system at all, and on the other, whether that which is called by that name does not differ far more from the notions of Arminius, than did his from those of Calvin and Beza. To clear up these doubts, to ascertain his views, and to trace their influence in the subsequent history of theological opinions, we must have recourse to the writings of Arminius himself. We shall refer principally to the *Declaratio Sententiæ*, made before the States-General, both because we there have his views in a convenient form, and because they were the maturest convictions of his judgment, having been written during the last year of his life. We ought to say that they are somewhat incomplete, death having overtaken him in the midst of his labors.

1. On Predestination. He sets forth three forms of this doctrine as held by different sections of the followers of Calvin. The *first* is that of the extreme supralapsarians, or, as they were sometimes called, the "creabilitarians." They taught that God had decreed to save certain particular men by his mercy or grace, and to condemn others by his justice,—and this without any regard to the character or conduct of any; that to this end he created Adam, and all men in him,

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in a state of righteousness; he ordained them to commit sin, that they might thus become worthy of eternal condemnation (*eternæ condemnationis rei fierent*); that the elect God has decreed to conduct to faith in Jesus Christ and perseverance in it, by an irresistible grace and power, so that they cannot do otherwise than to believe (*non possint non credere*) and be saved; that those who are foreordained to perdition, God has decreed to deny the necessary grace, so that they are neither placed in a possible condition nor in any capacity of being saved.

Arminius presents twenty reasons for rejecting this doctrine. He avers that "it is not the foundation of Christianity, of salvation, or of its certainty." "It neither comprises in itself the whole, nor any part, of the Gospel." "This doctrine was never admitted, decreed, or approved by any *Council*, either general or particular, *for the first six hundred years after Christ*." He denies that any of the orthodox divines of eminence during the first six centuries approved of the doctrine. "Neither was it professed and approved by a single individual of those who showed themselves the strongest defenders of grace against Pelagius." He shows its absence from the Harmony of Confessions published at Geneva in the name of the Reformed and Protestant churches, and that it is not properly implied in the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism.

Having thus denied its binding obligation on the grounds of ecclesiastical authority, he proceeds to show its Scriptural invalidity. He avers that it is opposed to the nature of God, and to the nature of man, as also to the act of creation; to the nature of eternal life and of eternal death; to the nature of sin, and to the nature of divine grace, &c., &c.

The second kind of predestination is that held by the lower supralapsarians. The third kind was and is still known as sublapsarianism. They both differ from the first kind in this, — "that neither of them lays down *the creation* or *the fall* as a mediate cause foreordained of God for the execution of the preceding decree of predestination." They differ from each other in respect to *the fall;* — the second kind placing "election, with regard to the end," and *preterition* (the first part of reprobation) before the fall; while the third makes

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them both subsequent. These two modifications had obviously been made to avoid the unhappy conclusion from the premises laid down in the first, that God is the author of sin. But Arminius shows, with no small cogency, that on neither of these latter schemes is this bad sequence avoidable; and he makes his general historical and Scriptural argument against the high supralapsarian view apply to these also.

After this protest against the Calvinistic dogmas, he states his own positive opinion in the following propositions: —

"I. The first absolute decree of God concerning the salvation of sinful man, is that by which he decreed to appoint his Son, Jesus Christ, for a Mediator, Redeemer, Saviour, Priest, and King, who might destroy sin by his own death, might by his obedience obtain the salvation which had been lost, and might communicate it by his own virtue.

"II. The second precise and absolute degree of God is that in which he decreed to receive into favor those who repent and believe, and, in Christ, for *his* sake and through *him*, to effect the salvation of such penitents and believers as persevered to the end; but to leave in sin, and under wrath, *all impenitent* persons and *unbelievers*, and to damn them as aliens from Christ.

"III. The third divine decree is that by which God decreed to administer in a sufficient and efficacious manner the means which were necessary for repentance and faith; and to have such administration instituted (1.) according to the Divine wisdom, by which God knows what is proper and becoming both to his mercy and his severity, and (2.) according to Divine justice, by which he is prepared to adopt whatever his wisdom may prescribe, and put it in execution.

"IV. To these succeeds the *fourth* decree, by which God decreed to save and damn certain particular persons. This decree has its foundation in the foreknowledge of God, by which he knew from all eternity those individuals who would through his preventing grace believe, and through his subsequent grace would persevere, according to the before described administration of those means which are suitable and proper for conversion and faith; and by which foreknowledge he likewise knew those who would not believe and persevere."

For these opinions he presents twenty reasons briefly stated, but comprehensive and pregnant with meaning, and corresponding to the twenty reasons for rejecting the doctrine of absolute predestination.

As his views respecting predestination were those in which

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he principally differed from the Calvinistic ministers, we have devoted more space to the presentation of them, as indeed he does himself. There are several other topics, however, embraced in the *Declaratio Sententiæ*, at which we must glance.

2. On the Providence of God his sentiments do not substantially vary from those of the Calvinists of his day. Although he states clearly enough, respecting Divine Providence, "that it preserves, regulates, governs, and directs all things, and that nothing in the world happens by accident or fortuitously" (*casu et fortuitu contingat*), yet there is that vague and cloudy conception of the relation of the human will to the Divine government which was common to most of the old theologians, and for that matter to not a few of the later ones."

3. Under the head of *Free Will* we find his doctrine of depravity implied, though we must look elsewhere to find it explicitly stated. He says: "In his *lapsed and sinful state*, man is not capable, of and by himself, either to think, to will, or to do that which is really good" (*neque cogitare, neque velle, neque facere posse*). Professor Stuart says: "The most thorough advocate of total depravity will scarcely venture to go farther in regard to man in his unregenerate state, than this statement of Arminius goes. Indeed, ... I believe that on this point Arminius would find few among the orthodox of the present day that would keep pace with him." But this falls much short of being his strongest expression of this doctrine. In his dissertation on the seventh of Romans, he says: "Adam corrupted himself and all his posterity, and so made them obnoxious to God's wrath" (*Adamum peccando et se et posteros omnes corrupuisse et iræ Dei obnoxias fecisse*). In his reply to Junius is found the following: "All have sinned in Adam, and are made answerable for transgression" (*Omnes in Adamo peccarunt et transgressionis rei sunt facti*). Even stronger expressions than these might be found to prove his "orthodoxy" respecting the guilt of the race incurred in Adam.

4. On the Grace of God he says: "I ascribe to grace the commencement, the continuance, and the consummation of all good, and to such an extent do I carry its influence, that a

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man, although regenerate, can neither conceive, will, nor do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, without this preventing and exciting, this following and co-operating grace" (*sine hac preveniente et excitante, sequente et cooperante gratia*). Nevertheless he strenuously rejects the notion of the irresistible influence of the Holy Spirit, therein widely separating from Calvinism. "*Multi Spiritui Sancto resistunt, et gratiam oblatam repellunt*," says he.

5. The Perseverance of the Saints was yet an open question with him. He affirms that he had never taught that a true believer could either totally or finally fall away and perish; "yet," says he, "I will not conceal that there are passages of Scripture which seem to me to wear this aspect, and those answers to them which I have been permitted to see are not of such a kind as to approve themselves on all points to my understanding. On the other hand, certain passages are produced for the contrary doctrine, which are worthy of much consideration."

6. His opinions on the Assurance of Salvation, again, are not firmly settled, though he regards the doctrine with favor.

7. As to the Perfection of believers in this life, he follows Augustine in that; he "thinks it possible to live without sin, by means of the grace of Christ and of free will."

8. The Divinity of the Son of God is discussed at great length, and with much subtile and keen metaphysical analysis, after the scholastic method. A question of his orthodoxy had arisen from the fact that he had corrected a student who in a disputation had asserted that the Son was αὐτόθεος. The correction was not, as had been falsely reported, because he doubted the real divinity of the Son, but because this term would imply that the Son had the Divine Essence from himself, and not from the Father. Thus he distinguished between "being truly God," and "being God of himself;" affirming the truth of the former respecting Christ, but denying the latter. After much more of what would now be regarded simply as the most skilful and brilliant dialectic gymnastics, but which was then considered as legitimately pertaining to theological argumentation, he presents the following ternary propositions: —

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"(1.) God is from *eternity*, possessing the Divine Essence from eternity.

"(2.) The Father is from *no one*, having the Divine Essence from no one.

"(3.) The Son is from *the Father*, having the Divine Essence from the Father."

"The word 'God,' therefore, signifies that he has the true Divine Essence; but the word 'Son,' that he has the Divine Essence from the Father. On this account he is correctly denominated both GOD and the SON OF GOD. But since he cannot be styled the FATHER, he cannot possibly be said *to have the Divine Essence from himself, or from no one.*" He therefore rejects the term *αὐτόθεος*, as indicating that the Divine essence is underived or uncommunicated: In this view he was doubtless sustained by the most orthodox Trinitarians of his own times, and by the whole body of the Nicene fathers, though these views at the present day might, in certain quarters, seem a little unsatisfactory.

9. On the Justification of Man before God, he affirms that his sentiments do not disagree with those held by the Reformed and Protestant churches. There had been a question respecting Faith as imputed for righteousness. After briefly explaining this, and showing its proper meaning, he gives the following as his view: —

"I believe that sinners are accounted righteous solely by the obedience of Christ, and that the righteousness of Christ is the only meritorious cause on account of which God pardons the sins of believers, and reckons them as righteous as if they had perfectly fulfilled the law. But since God imputes the righteousness of Christ to none except believers, I conclude that, in this sense, it may be well and properly said, *To a man who believes, Faith is imputed for righteousness through grace*, because God hath set forth his Son, Jesus Christ, to be a propitiation, a throne of grace (*ἱλαστήριον*) through faith in his blood."

We have now set forth the substance of his views as contained in the *Declaratio*. There are a few less prominent topics, not mentioned here, upon which he has expressed himself elsewhere. Among these are special grace and regeneration. Respecting the former it is somewhat difficult to represent him perfectly, partly because he only discusses the subject

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so far as to correct some gross perversions of his views; and partly because the terminology has a good deal changed since he wrote. As nearly as we can gather his opinions on the subject of common grace and special grace, they seem to differ from the Calvinistic theory in this: — that whereas the latter implies the irresistibility of special grace, he, as we have previously seen, denies this; and though he believes in special influences of the Spirit in distinction from the common operation, he holds that God, of his grace, furnishes to every accountable person the ability to comply with the terms of the Gospel, which is honestly offered to all; and that this ability is not an impracticable "natural ability," but a genuinely available power to become holy in the use of ordained means. In this representation we have the misfortune to differ from Professor Stuart, but, with all deference, we are constrained to regard the above as the real view of Arminius.

In his statement of the doctrine of regeneration, he differs less from the Calvinists of his own times than from those of later years. He makes it a "mortification of sin and vivification of holiness," produced by the Holy Spirit; but, with Beza and Owen and others, he thinks that conviction and repentance precede regeneration, — not, as many of that party believe now, that they follow conversion.

We are now prepared to furnish a brief summary of the views of Arminius, which define his theological position. It is necessary here to remind the reader that his early death prevented him from digesting his opinions into a complete and systematic form, as he appears to have intended. He had, however, arrived at certain definite conclusions on questions of vast importance, in the decision of which he separated himself by a wide interval from his Calvinistic brethren. There are other points of a subordinate character upon which his opinions do not harmonize with the former; he had not yet adjusted them to those great central doctrines.

The points on which he took issue with the Calvinists were chiefly these: — 1. *Conditional*, instead of *absolute* or *arbitrary* election and reprobation. He thought that men were elected because they believed; not that they believed because they had been elected. 2. *Universal redemption*, — ample,

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practicable provision made through the Divine grace for the salvation of every human soul. 3. Complete *freedom of the will*, — such as to allow it, not in a technical sense merely, but in reality, to avail itself of the provisions of grace and live, or to refuse them and die.

He separates himself from the Pelagians and Socinians by equally obvious lines. 1. He stoutly insists upon the utter hereditary corruption of human nature, and the moral helplessness of the entire race. 2. He places man's justification solely in the merits of the Atonement by Christ. 3. He asserts the proper and eternal Deity of Christ, and the Trinity of the Godhead.

We now come to the question respecting the relation of the theology of Arminius to that of the Church before his day; in other words, to the determination of his place in the history of theological opinions. It has already been seen, that he claimed for himself a harmony with the general voice of the Church up to the advent of Calvin. He differed in no essential particular on the controverted points from Erasmus and Melancthon, or the Lutherans generally. His followers never claimed that his doctrines were new, — such an assumption would prove fatal to any religious reformer. It has been said that the theological scheme which Arminius defended received his name because he collected and embodied in a system the scattered and frequently incidental observations of the Christian fathers and of the early Protestant divines, and more fully explained them than any previous writer. This is, perhaps, pretty near the truth, so far as it goes. But it is an inadequate statement of what is due to Arminius. He demands from the hand of history the honor of having interposed the first effectual barrier to the advancing tide of a vicious theological system, which threatened to overwhelm all Protestant Christendom.

The theology of Calvin had, from causes already enumerated, rapidly and widely disseminated itself in Western Europe. There was arising an ecclesiastical power, having its centre at Geneva, which was likely to rival that of Rome in its bigotry and intolerance, — perhaps, ultimately, in its corruption and profligacy. Against this Arminius protested, as Luther before him had against the Papacy. It is not as an originator of a

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new system that Arminius stands out so prominently, but as an antagonist of new and revolting tests of orthodoxy, and of metaphysical perversions of Christian truth. Against this he brought to bear all the resources of a powerful mind, quick, clear, and penetrating in perception, skilful in analysis, and richly furnished with all the varied learning of the times. It was the first great check that Calvinism received, and its results were permanent. True, Arminius died in the beginning of the conflict, and before he had yet fairly arranged his forces or completed his base of operations. It is true, too, that his followers were apparently defeated; but the force of his protest did not expend itself with his departure, nor with the temporary subjugation of his successors.

In order to a full comprehension of what Arminianism is, we must glance at its history subsequent to the death of Arminius. This event produced no tendency to harmony in the churches. The conflict was, if possible, more violent than before. A majority of the ministers still cherished their Genevan predilections. Most of the civil functionaries probably sympathized with the friends of Arminius. The latter, fearing the overwhelming ecclesiastical influence against them, drew up and presented to the States-General a petition for toleration, accompanied by a scheme of their sentiments embraced in the noted *Five Points*. This petition was called, by those presenting it, *Remonstrantiæ*, and it gave to the party the name of *Remonstrants*. In consequence of this petition, the States enjoined upon the clergy not to exact a subscription of belief relative to the five points in question, but to go on in harmony together. Some of the Classes refused to obey this injunction, and it probably did little to allay the agitation. This was in 1610. During the same year the party of Gomarus presented a counter remonstrance, and from it received a corresponding name.

The next year the States ordered another conference between the parties, but with as little success as ever. The dissensions prevailed, without any decisive incident, for several years. In the mean time Gomarus resigned his professorship, and his place was filled by Simon Episcopius, a very young man, but an excellent scholar, a profound thinker, and most successful

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debater. He had been a pupil, friend, and follower of Arminius, and now became the champion of the doctrines taught by his old master. In the early annals of our "Forefathers," Episcopius appears as the person with whom John Robinson discussed Arminianism at Leyden.

It has been seen how greatly Arminius desired a council fairly representing all shades of Protestant opinion, in which, after free and candid discussion, a general platform of simple and obvious Christian principles might be adopted, leaving minor doctrines to the independent judgment of individuals. To such a convention the Calvinistic party would not for a moment hear. In such an assembly their cherished purposes would be defeated. Indeed, at the time of the death of Arminius, his opponents were hostile to any kind of a council. But during these subsequent years the relations of the two parties to the civil power had changed, and the troubles had grown so serious that both sides called for a synod, though differing as to its character. The remonstrants wished for a General Council of Protestants. To this, as before, the Calvinistic party objected. In such an assembly the views of Arminius would prevail by a large majority, and would be entitled, not only to *toleration*, (which was all the remonstrants claimed,) but to the patronage of the government. Failing in this, the remonstrants demanded a provincial synod, before which their *five points* could be brought and discussed preparatory to a national synod. But in a provincial synod, where both parties would be nearly equally represented, the remonstrants would have the advantage in the popular argument, and would thus come into the national synod fully shielded by the civil power. A national synod, then, was the policy of the contra-remonstrants, and this, by the political combinations just then effected, they were able to obtain on their own terms.

Prince Maurice, whose splendid abilities and successes in war had made him a great favorite with the people, was now ambitiously scheming to subvert the liberties of the republic, and aspiring to absolute power. Barneveldt, the Grand Pensionary, who had done more than than any other man, not only for the freedom and prosperity of Holland, but also for the success of Maurice in his legitimate sphere, perceived the

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designs of the Stadtholder, and took measures to defeat them. But Barneveldt was a stanch Arminian, and on this account obnoxious to the Calvinists. Maurice saw his advantage in siding with them, though all his predilections were Arminian. This advantage he was not slow to seize. Henceforth his work was comparatively easy. Base calumnies were industriously circulated, ruinous to the reputation of the Grand Pensionary. In a little while, through the influence of the politico-ecclesiastical combination which the Prince had formed, he was able to seize the chief towns, and by the terror of his arms to bring the magistrates to submission. In the exercise of his usurped authority he procured the election of burgomasters and States-General favorable to his own schemes. Barneveldt was arrested and thrown into prison, together with the famous civilian and theologian, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and several other principal leaders of the Arminian party.

The States, now subservient to the Calvinistic party, decided to call a national synod. To give it the appearance of as much authority as possible, it was thought best to invite divines from the Reformed churches in the neighboring countries. But, lest this should introduce troublesome elements from the side of Germany, the invitation was to such churches as had adopted both the platform and the doctrine of Geneva! Besides these foreign divines, the council was to consist of native ministers appointed by the several classes or presbyteries, and civil deputies chosen out of such province by the provincial states.

The letters of the States-General, inviting the foreign divines, were issued on the 25th of June, 1618, and the members were summoned to meet at Dort, on the 1st of November of the same year. In the mean time, preparations were made both by the politicians and the ecclesiastics for the selection of delegates favorable to their respective interests. As has been noted, Prince Maurice had taken care that the officials of the several cities and provinces should be of the right party. This secured the lay deputies from among the contra-remonstrants. The same religious party, being no longer under any restraint from the civil power, went so far as to depose, on charges of heresy and other pretexts, the remonstrant ministers; thus depriving them of their votes in the classes and presbyteries.

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As a matter of course, the national synod was composed almost entirely of Calvinistic divines and deputies. Only three remonstrants were elected, and they were permitted to hold their places under such humiliating restrictions that they submitted to them but for a single day.

Such a council could have little difficulty in coming to an agreement on the main points in dispute. Instead of being invited to a free and friendly discussion, even before an assembly from representation in which they had been sedulously excluded, the remonstrants were indicted as heretics, and summoned to answer for their pernicious sentiments. Twelve men of the Arminian party, to whom certain members of the council were most hostile, were cited by name, and without preparation were required to answer the charges against them. We need not trace, in detail, the further history of this synod. How Episcopius and his friends naturally demurred at the restrictions under which they were placed; how they demanded such privileges as they had a right to claim under the citation in obedience to which they were present, and the terms of which the synod were seeking to violate; how, after many weeks of discussion as to the method of defence, the remonstrants refused to recognize the authority of this council, and were dismissed by the moderator, Bogeman, in a most violent and bitter speech, — may be found in the ample histories of the Synod of Dort, which, though written mostly by those partial to its proceedings, abundantly evidence its one-sided and dishonorable character.

Episcopius and his companions were easily found guilty of heresy, and were turned over to the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates. All the ministers who refused to subscribe to the creed prepared by this synod were at once deposed. The remonstrants were everywhere persecuted, and their pastors banished, or otherwise called to endure an incredible amount of suffering. Much of this intolerance must undoubtedly be credited to the character of the times. The apologists for the dominant party aver that the same spirit would have been manifested had the remonstrants succeeded. It is not at all impossible; yet we cannot avoid the conviction, that there was something essentially uncharitable and intolerant in these Calvinistic churches and their leading divines.

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The exclusion of the remonstrant ministers from the Dutch churches lasted but a few years. After the death of Maurice they began to return. The States by degrees connived at their restoration to office, and, despite the influence of the Synod of Dort, they at length became the leading party in Holland. Their views gained favor rapidly in other countries. Some of the foreign divines who were at Dort appear to have been favorably impressed with even the partial representation of Arminianism there made, and on further examination embraced and advocated the same opinions. This system prevailed extensively in England during the century subsequent to the Synod of Dort, and many of the ablest divines of the Established Church embraced it.

But it must here be explained, that during this time the Arminian party did not consist merely of those who coincided with the Leyden Professor. Many who adopted his premises prosecuted the argument to conclusions from which he would have revolted. Others, exasperated at the treatment they received, were anxious to place themselves at as great a distance as possible from the Calvinistic platform. Very naturally, too, the Socinians and other Unitarians warmly sympathized with the remonstrants, and made common cause with them. When men begin to sympathize in any great object, it is no difficult matter to learn to accommodate themselves to each other's opinions. Thus it came to pass that the party known as Remonstrants on the Continent and as Arminians in England embraced very many whose views were more diverse from those of Arminius than were his from the doctrines of Calvin and Beza. In addition to this, the Calvinistic writers, who for various reasons had readiest access to the public ear, and the literary advantage in other respects for the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and with whom the *odium theologicum* is no more wanting than with other religious controversialists, studiously represented Arminianism as embracing all that is most heretical in orthodox estimation, placing it quite beyond the pale of the Evangelical system. Thus for a long period Arminianism, even to large numbers of people to whom the Calvinistic dogmas were utterly repulsive, denoted a vague system, embracing they hardly knew what destructive errors.

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Of late, however, Calvinistic divines have for the most part ceased to misrepresent Arminianism, and by religious writers generally it is recognized as a distinct system. Its views are substantially those embraced in the Five Points of the remonstrants. In short, it is the system of those Christians who, holding to the dogma of an infallible Bible, believe in conditional instead of unconditional election; in universal redemption through the vicarious sacrifice of Christ; and in the power of choice uncontrolled by irresistible influences. This is Arminianism, and Arminius *was* an Arminian.

These sentiments are now held by the vast majority of the Protestant Churches. They prevail, as they did before the time of Arminius, throughout Germany and in the North of Europe. In Belgium, France, and Switzerland they are less prevalent, but influential. In England, though there has been much discussion as to whether the seventeenth Article of the Established Church is susceptible of an Arminian or a Calvinistic interpretation, and though, if we may gather anything from the best writers on both sides, we may infer that it will bear either interpretation, yet the great majority of the English divines for the last century are clearly Arminians. In America the churches are nearly equally divided. Calvinism is the prevailing system among the Protestants of France and of Switzerland. It has a large influence in Holland and Belgium, and is almost the exclusive sentiment of Scotland.

Denominationally estimated, Arminianism is the common doctrine of the Lutheran Churches in Europe and America; of the Episcopalians, both in England and this country; of the General Baptists, and of many minor sects, on both sides of the Atlantic. All the branches of the great Methodist family throughout the world embrace it heartily. This last body claim that the theological opinions more prominent among them, and more free from admixture with other doctrines than among other denominations, are substantially the Arminianism of Arminius. John Wesley, who was always bold enough to do a true and right thing when he thought it to be such, did much to rescue the name of Arminius from obloquy. "One might as well cry, 'Mad dog,'" says he, "as to call a man an Arminian." Yet, when he established a

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monthly periodical for the benefit of his people, he called it *The Arminian Magazine.*

To the practical mind of Wesley, indeed, it was morally impossible to do otherwise than adopt the theological views of the Leyden Reformer in opposition to those of Calvin. In this he separated from Whitefield and the Countess of Huntington's preachers, and the result was a long and fierce controversy. The doctrines of man's lost condition, of general redemption, and a "free salvation," were the chief points of theology involved in the sermons of the fervent itinerants, as they called to their multitudinous assemblies to repent and believe, appealing always to their own consciousness of a power to choose or to reject the offered remedy. It is an anomaly in the religious world, — not, however, without its analogies, — that while the Methodists have nothing in their articles of faith which demands it of them, they are the most earnest and persistent defenders of Arminianism, and most jealous of any encroachment on what is to every minister a compact, well-defined, and positive, though unwritten creed. The twenty-five Articles of the Methodist Church in America were taken substantially from the Articles of the Church of England. Nearly half of them were designed to guard against Papistical doctrines and usages, and are now virtually of no importance. Nor do the remaining articles exclude any shade of evangelical belief from the Methodist communion. In fact, broad as is the platform of these Articles, it is not necessary that a candidate for membership subscribe to them. Only one condition is required in these societies, — "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their *sins*." This desire must be evidenced by a life corresponding to certain moral rules; and though the member is also bound not to inveigh against the general sentiments held in the denomination, he is at liberty to enjoy whatever opinion he pleases, provided his life be holy. Yet there is probably a greater unanimity of clearly defined theological opinion in no other denomination than in this; and this sentiment is substantially Arminian.

Most of the denominations who hold this doctrine at the present day do not adopt all the views of Arminius. His notions respecting original sin, as we have seen, were those

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entertained by the Calvinistic theologians of his time, and by others before them. They are not received by the anti-Calvinistic churches of the present. The progress of the Arminians, however, in this respect, has been no greater than that of a majority of their opponents. In fact, Calvinism itself has undergone a wonderful change, at least in its exoteric statement of doctrine. The genuine theology of the great Genevan Reformer now holds sway in but few localities. In a modified form, it is the creed of the Scotch Presbyterians, of the English Independents, of the Dutch, Swiss, and French Reformed Churches, of the Calvinistic Baptists in England and America, and of the Presbyterians, Orthodox Congregationalists, and a few smaller denominations, in this country. But the Calvinism of the modern Calvinists would have more horribly shocked the friends of Gomarus than the Arminianism of Arminius.

ART. V.—THE FRANKLIN SEARCH AND ITS RESULTS.

1. *The Northwest Passage and the Plans for the Search of Sir John Franklin. A Review.* By JOHN BROWN, F. R. G. S. London: E. Stanford. 1858.
2. *The Voyage of the "Fox" in the Arctic Seas. A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions.* By CAPTAIN MCCLINTOCK, R. N., LL. D. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860.
3. *An Arctic Boat Journey in the Autumn of* 1854. By ISAAC I. HAYES, Surgeon of the Second Grinnell Expedition. Boston: Brown, Taggard, and Chase. 1860.

THERE is a great contrast between the map of the Arctic regions given to Sir John Franklin in 1845, as the best guide then to be had, and that which is published in 1860 to illustrate the last chapter in the search for Franklin. Navigators had traced the shores of Baffin's Bay, but Smith's Sound at the north still preserved its mysteries intact, to be unlocked by Kane; Parry had made his wonderful run through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait, but the western outlets of this

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great channel defied even his daring and enterprise; their northern shore was bounded by the indefinite range of the "Parry Islands," of which even the insularity was little more than a bold guess; the water-course between Capes Walker and Rennell was unexplored, while to the west of Cape Walker all was unknown, except a single scanty section, laid down from an over-ice view from twenty miles' distance, of the coast of Banks Land. Sir James Ross and his father had entered Prince Regent's Inlet, crossed Boothia, and ascertained the position of the Magnetic Pole; but the western coast of North Somerset and Boothia was still unknown; the channel east of King William's Land making that an island was unsuspected, — a fact destined to have a grave bearing upon the fate of Franklin; travellers from the continent, and among them Franklin himself, had traversed the line of straits which bound its northern shore, from the Mackenzie to Back's River, but the connection with the eastern ocean was left to be established by drifting fragments of Franklin's ships. A channel through the four degrees of latitude which constituted the sole barrier to the discovery of the Northwest Passage was indeed believed to exist, and the discovery of this channel was Franklin's errand, — a service which he declared to be very near his heart; but precisely where the brave adventurer was to look for this channel, and how far prudence would allow him to persevere in any one direction, were points which could not be determined.

We thus refer to the state of Arctic discovery in 1845, because, in considering the search for the Franklin expedition, this is one of the very first conditions of the problem which so recently excited the interest of the world. In order to carry ourselves back, however, to the point of departure in 1848, when the first searching expedition was organized, two other elements must be taken into account, — the general opinion as to the direction in which the Northwest Passage was to be sought, and the instructions given to Franklin when he sailed. With the story now fully before us, we know that the most careful adherence to the course of search thus indicated could not have saved the noble leader of the lost expedition, nor would it probably have saved the lives of any of

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his unfortunate companions; still, it would have prevented years of individual suspense and disappointment, and we should have had a far more satisfactory record of the intelligence and discernment both of the public and the scientific world.

The views then entertained as to the proper direction in which to look for the long-sought passage are so well described by Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, in an address to the Royal Geographical Society, delivered just after the Franklin expedition sailed, that we copy the passage.

"The route by Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait leads nearly in a direct line about west-southwest to Behring's Strait; and is, therefore, apparently the proper, and, as far as our knowledge hitherto extends, the only maritime route to be pursued on the passage to that strait. There is, indeed, an opening which issues from the northern side of Barrow's Strait, called by Parry Wellington Inlet, and which in appearance is little inferior to Lancaster Sound; but its direction points towards the Pole, and the only chance of its becoming available for the Northwest Passage would be that it leads into the open sea, and that the cluster of islands in that direction will be found to cease.

"The track, however, expected to be pursued on this occasion is through the now well-known Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait as far as Cape Walker, on the southern side of the latter, between which and Melville Island the expedition is to take a middle course by the first opening that presents itself after passing the cape, and steering to the southward, and half-way between Banks Land (if such exist) and the northern coast of America, steer directly, or as far as the ice will admit, for the centre of Behring's Strait. The distance to this from the centre point between Cape Walker and Melville Island is about nine hundred miles."

This plan of search was that which had been pointed out by the veteran Sir John Barrow as early as 1836. The preliminary inquiry, undertaken with the concurrent advice of Sir John Franklin for the purpose of settling the question as to a passage by the coast of America, had been attempted by Sir George Back, in his unfortunate voyage in the Terror in that year, and had been partially carried out by Dease and Simpson, in 1837. The result had been to turn the general attention to the unexplored region between Cape Walker and

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Banks Land, a distance less than three hundred miles. The field of inquiry having been thus narrowed down, Franklin's instructions, dated May 5, 1845, were drawn up in accordance with the general view. The most interesting portion of them is as follows: —

"In proceeding to the westward, you will not stop to examine any openings either to the northward or southward in that strait, but continue to push to the westward without loss of time, in the latitude of about 74½°, till you have reached the longitude of that portion of land on which Cape Walker is situated, or about 98° W. From that point we desire that every effort be used to endeavor to penetrate to the southward and westward, in a course as direct towards Behring's Straits as the position and extent of the ice, or the existence of land at present unknown, may admit.

"We direct you to this particular part of the Polar Sea as affording the best prospect of accomplishing the passage to the Pacific, in consequence of the unusual magnitude, and apparently fixed state, of the barrier of ice observed by the Hecla and Gripa in the year 1820, off Cape Dundas, the southwestern extremity of Melville Island; and we therefore consider that loss of time would be incurred in renewing the attempt in that direction; but should your progress in the direction before ordered be arrested by ice of a permanent appearance, and if, when passing the mouth of the strait between Devon and Cornwallis Islands, you had observed that it was open and clear of ice, we desire that you will duly consider, with reference to the time already consumed, as well as to the symptoms of a late or early close of the season, whether that channel might not offer a more practicable outlet from the archipelago, and a more ready access to the open sea, where there would be neither islands nor banks to arrest and fix the floating masses of ice; and if you should have advanced too far to the southwestward to render it expedient to adopt this new course before the end of the present season, and if, therefore, you should have determined to winter in that neighborhood, it will be a matter for your mature deliberation whether in the ensuing season you would proceed by the above-mentioned strait, or whether you would persevere to the southwestward, according to the former directions."

Sir Roderick Murchison's statement of the question, — and to this we might add the opinions of many of the most illustrious Arctic navigators, — and above all Franklin's instructions from the Admiralty, thus left no question as to the course

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which he was to pursue, and no question, therefore, as to the quarter in which he was to be sought. Cape Walker was his starting-point, from which he was to carry his search to the southwest; he was referred to Parry's experience for a warning against a more westerly course, and Wellington Channel and the openings to the north he was not to attempt, unless his progress to the southwest were arrested by ice "of a permanent character." And the last letters received from Franklin, written in July, 1845, at the Whalefish Islands, show that he fully entered into the spirit of this plan, and indicate a purpose to spare no exertions to carry it out, before trying any other course. Although Franklin sailed into an unknown region, there was therefore some clew to his probable course,—a clew which pointed out a particular direction for the search, as that to be followed until obstacles of a permanent character should be met.

Franklin's ships were last seen on the 26th of July, 1845, then in Baffin's Bay. In January, 1847, Sir John Ross called the attention of the Admiralty to their long absence. Towards the close of that year serious apprehensions began to be entertained, and in January, 1848, the first searching expedition sailed. It is not our purpose to review in detail the history of the protracted exertions which followed. There are few brighter pages in the long annals of British enterprise and daring than that which records the generous self-sacrifice and fearless perseverance of the men who sought to relieve the lost navigators; there is no brighter page in history than that which tells the story of the courageous hope and steady devotion of the wife of the lost commander. The result of these ten years of patient effort is now well known; and although it was all in vain, and much of it was sadly misdirected, it is still happily given us to know that, even if guided by certain knowledge instead of wild conjecture, these efforts could have availed nothing, and that the full disclosure of the sorrowful truth was reserved as a reward for that constancy which outlived the hope of all others.

The history of the search is traced out in detail, often with wearisome minuteness and repetition, but with good sense and an enthusiastic love of the subject, by Mr. Brown, in the book

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whose title we have placed at the head of this article. The early and complete neglect of the plan of search with which Franklin set out; the wild guesses made, listened to, and acted upon; the extended and remote fields explored, when that to which Franklin was ordered to proceed had never been thoroughly examined; the attention given to Wellington Channel, to the Parry Islands, to the supposed open sea around the Pole, when Cape Walker had never been visited, and while all to the southwest of it was fast locked in mystery, never solved until the fate of the expedition had become known; — all this is dwelt upon by Mr. Brown earnestly and sorrowfully, with abundant scorn and indignation for some of those who guided the search, which is at times bestowed with more vigor than discrimination. The reader, however, is glad to find that Mr. Brown's views, so generally correct, did not remain secret until the discoveries of Rae had disclosed the whole mystery, but were embodied in a paper addressed to the President of the Royal Geographical Society so early as December, 1850.

The earlier speculations, and the orders under which the earlier expeditions sailed in search of Franklin, were in general based upon his instructions. The first Behring's Straits expedition, and Dr. Richardson's overland party, were sent out with the hope that Franklin might have found the channel where he sought it, and so might be first heard of from the west. Sir James Clarke Ross's expedition, however, although ordered to penetrate Barrow's Strait, and to visit Cape Walker, had its attention directed more particularly to the northern shore of the strait, to Melville Island and Banks Land, and to the western shore of North Somerset, than to the intervening coast-line between Cape Walker and Banks Land. Austin, Ommaney, and Penny, in 1850, had their attention called to the Cape Walker route; but still so much prominence was given to Wellington Channel, and even to Jones's Sound, that in fact much generous labor was wasted in that direction. And we may add, that in some respects it seems almost unfortunate that this expedition found evidence of Franklin's having spent his first winter at Beechey Island; for as no record of proceedings and intentions for the future was found, — a fact which has occasioned no little surprise, — the discovery seems

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to have served mainly to distract attention from the proper course of search, and, without any sufficient reason, to have given confidence to the increasing party who believed that Franklin was locked in the ice or wrecked north of Wellington Channel. Lieutenant (now Captain) Sherard Osborn succeeded, however, in carrying a sledge party to 103° 25′ West. On the day after Osborn reached his farthest point, Mr. Wyniatt, coming from McClure's embayed ship, the Investigator, which had entered Behring's Straits, also reached his farthest point towards the east; only a hundred and twenty miles separated these two officers, and within that space lay the broad strait now known as McClintock Channel, the discovery of which might have given a very different turn to the history of the search. Osborn and Wyniatt, however, were both forced to turn back, and McClintock Channel was never visited until, after Franklin's fate had been settled, its northern shore was traced by Captain Allen Young.

We mention these facts, not because it is certain that McClintock Channel does afford the key to Franklin's fate, but to show that, at the time when the search began to be directed exclusively to the north, it had not been proved that Franklin had ever pursued any course different from that laid down in his instructions. In spite, however, of the fact that the chances, and even the probabilities, of finding traces of Franklin southwest of Cape Walker had not been exhausted, Sir Edward Belcher's squadron of five vessels sailed, with instructions dated April 15, 1852, in which attention was directed strictly to the north of Barrow's Strait. As if to give a timely warning of the truth, intelligence was received on the 3d of the same month from the indefatigable Dr. Rae, then leading a land expedition, announcing the discovery in Parker Bay, on the southeast of Victoria Land, of two fragments of wrecked matter thrown up by the tide, and believed to have come from Franklin's ships. Dr. Rae called attention to the fact, which had been noted as early as 1837, and was known to Franklin, that through the straits which separate Victoria Land from the continent the tide comes from the east, proving some communication between the waters east of Victoria Land and Barrow's Strait. This hint, however, although immeasurably

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more important than any argument in favor of the northern search, was suffered to pass unnoticed, and both Belcher and our own Kane set out upon a fruitless search in the quarter which Franklin was forbidden to approach.

Similar traces were afterwards discovered by Captain Collinson in the same neighborhood, during his long and admirably conducted search in the Enterprise. It was Collinson's lot, however, after the exercise of gallantry never surpassed in Arctic discovery, to find his labors anticipated at almost every point. He penetrated Prince of Wales Strait, solving the Northwest Passage in that direction only to find himself anticipated by McClure, who had explored it fifteen days earlier. In May, 1853, a strait scarcely fifty miles wide divided him from the relics of Franklin's ships on King William's Island; and so in this case, before his despatches describing the fragments found by him had reached England, Dr. Rae's letter of July 29, 1854, had revealed the fate of the lost expedition.

We need not dwell upon Dr. Rae's discoveries, so well remembered by all, further than to recall the fact that they placed the survivors of Franklin's expedition, in the spring of 1850, as nearly as could be ascertained from the Esquimaux, on the north shore of King William's Island, then apparently much reduced, and setting out upon a desperate attempt to escape overland. This discovery, which we may almost term accidental, since it was not made by following up the course of the expedition by any traces or upon any definite theory, but was struck out in the course of a wide and exhaustive search, recalled the attention of the public to the quarter to which the search should have been directed. The tide in the southern straits, Dr. Rae's floating fragments in Parker Bay, and the precise instructions given to Franklin, at once took their place in the chain of evidence; the theory of a channel leading from Melville Sound to the south, maintained in its more important features by Sir John Richardson at least as early as 1849, gained ground, and it was found that, by a singular chance, a part of the shore line of the sound, sufficient to account for the opening of the supposed strait, had never been examined, having escaped Wyniatt and Osborn by

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the vexatious and remarkable coincidence in their movements which we have already described.

Captain McClintock, therefore, when he set out in the Fox on the 1st of July, 1857, went out not so much for purposes of discovery as to go over ground already laid out for him, to collect what might yet be learned as to the history of the unfortunate expedition, to gather up any relics which might be found, and to settle if possible the harrowing doubts as to the possibility that any survivors still longed for relief. Under what auspices this last expedition set out, by what sacrifices, with what devotion and perseverance, never tiring after so many fruitless struggles, it was fitted and sent upon its work, is well known. All the wild romance in which the fancy clothes the daring and adventure of Arctic discovery is tame by the side of Lady Franklin's story. Her name and her husband's will now be the last to fade from that singular and fascinating page of human history.

Lady Franklin was peculiarly fortunate in securing the aid of Captain McClintock,—who, we are glad to see, has now been knighted for his gallant services. He had been out with Sir James Ross in the first year of the search, and had then descended Peel Sound with that experienced navigator, until forced to return; he was one of Austin's lieutenants in 1850, and as commander of a sledge party on the north side of Barrow's Strait accomplished some work of great importance, at the same time reaping the benefit of the search conducted by Osborn and Browne of the same expedition on the southern side of the strait. He also accompanied Sir Edward Belcher in 1852, and then accomplished some of the most remarkable feats in sledge travelling ever yet known. He may be called, indeed, one of the chief inventors of the modern system of sledge travelling. An expedition under him was therefore sure of being conducted judiciously and bravely, and carried on to the extreme limit of human power. After the loss of an entire season in Baffin's Bay, by a drift in the ice even more remarkable than that which once swept De Haven and Kane out of Wellington Channel, McClintock carried the Fox safely to Brentford Bay, and thence made his search by sledging, after repeated efforts to pass Bellot Strait. His suc-

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cess is still fresh in the memory of all. He tells the story of his efforts in a simple, frank, and seaman-like style, seldom resorting to any embellishment, rarely departing from plain statement or practical inference; but the tale loses no interest by such treatment. And when the narrative brings the reader upon King William's Island itself, as he is carried along the path which those weary and broken men once trod, where their remains still bleach as they fell, or lie in the boat which was too heavy for their scanty strength, — when he comes to the point where they threw aside all but the simplest necessaries of existence as they undertook that last journey, — we know of nothing in literature which has a more powerful interest than this unpretending and graphic narrative.

The record found by McClintock's party at Point Victory is the only written memorial left of the Franklin expedition, except the gravestones at Cape Riley. The record is short, hastily written, and made by piecemeal; still it gives us a clear, and even minute, view of most of the history of the expedition. As we have said, Franklin's ships were last seen in Baffin's Bay, July 28, 1845. Entering Lancaster Sound, as if to defeat all calculations, they actually did ascend Wellington Channel to the seventy-seventh parallel, anticipating Dr. Haven and Dr. Kane's discovery of Grinnell Land, and returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island, the insularity of which, discovered by Franklin in his first season, escaped all subsequent navigators. This singular movement, made apparently in preference to any attempt at the southwest, is very possibly to be referred to heavy ice in Barrow's Strait and unusually open water in Wellington Channel; but it seems to have proceeded from no serious resolution to attempt the passage by Wellington Channel, but simply to have been undertaken in order to turn to account the remnants of a season otherwise lost. The gravestones at Beechey Island correct an error in the record, and show that the Erebus and Terror wintered there in 1845 – 46. The next season the serious work of the expedition was entered on, and on the 12th of September, 1846, the ships were beset about fifteen miles northwest of Cape Felix, the northern point of King William's Island, having reached that point by a route which we shall presently consider.

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They wintered in the ice in 1846 – 47. May 24th, 1847, a small party under Commander Gore of the Erebus set out from the ships to explore, and placed a record, written upon one of the blanks furnished by the Admiralty, under a cairn supposed to be that built by Sir James Ross in 1831. This paper gave the position of the ships in the preceding winter, told the stay of Beechey Island and Wellington Channel, and added, "Sir John Franklin commanding the expedition. All well." April 22d, 1848, the ships were abandoned; one hundred and five men under Captain Crozier landed; the paper left by "the late" Commander Gore was taken out, the sad history of the expedition up to that time was written upon it, and it was left in another place, to tell its story to McClintock eleven years later. The last date upon the record is April 25th, 1848. Sir John Franklin had died on the 11th of June, 1847, when England was just beginning to be really uneasy at his absence. Disease had done its work among the crew, for twenty-four men out of one hundred and twenty-nine had died, — almost one man in five; from which we may gather that the third winter in those regions under such disheartening circumstances had proved too much for human endurance, and had probably reduced the strength of the survivors more than they were aware. They set out overland, however, on the 26th of April, 1848, for Back's Fish River, upon a route as forbidding as any that is to be found in those desolate regions.

Six weeks later Sir James Ross left England with the first searching expedition, and in June of the next year descended Peel Sound with McClintock, finally turning back at a point which is scarcely two hundred miles from Cape Felix. Could he have reached that cape, — and McClintock with his later experience in sledge travelling would have reached it, — the whole mystery would have been revealed; but where were then the unhappy remnant of the expedition? Still nearer did Rae and Collinson approach to the great secret, without discovering it, when in 1851 and 1853 they trod the shore of Victoria Land, separated from the scene of calamity by a strait scarcely fifty miles wide. And it is interesting to observe, that Dr. Rae, in 1851, found the fragments in Parker Bay just

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after they had been brought in by the flood tide, since, "although they were touching the beach, they did not rest upon it." These fragments, we may suppose, came from the ship, which, according to several Esquimaux accounts, was crushed or sunk in the ice, perhaps that very spring, scarcely a hundred miles away. The other ship was said by the natives to have lain upon the western shore of King William's Island as late as the winter of 1857 – 58.

The most remarkable point, however, in the whole story, is the proposition made to the Admiralty, by Dr. Richard King, to lead a party overland, in the summer of 1848, to Back's Fish River, and thence to the western coast of Boothia. There is scarcely a doubt that this plan, if carried out, would have brought Dr. King upon the track of the lost party, while a part of them still survived, or that its rejection may, perhaps, be regarded as the final destruction of all hope. The authorities who rejected the plan, however, can hardly be censured for their judgment; the scheme was based, in some respects, upon mistaken premises, the reasoning of its author was loose and unsatisfactory, and his selection of the Great Fish River as the place to be searched seems more like a lucky accident than an actual deduction from a sound view of facts.

It is now twelve years since the retreating party from the ships set out on their weary journey. A part appear to have returned to their ships, and perished there; a part, probably all the rest, went on to Montreal Island, and there died. It seems scarcely probable that any survived the winter of 1848 – 49, considering their weakened condition after three Arctic winters, and their later privations; and as to the chance of any surviving at this length of time, we can see no room for hope. Whites may be able to live among the Esquimaux, but there is not the slightest trace of any mingling of these unhappy men with the natives; and white men living among the Esquimaux would hardly fail, in twelve years, to make their way to some region of civilization.

As the dates which we have already given sufficiently show, there is reason to doubt, even if King William's Island had been reached, and the traces of the retreating party followed up by Sir James Ross when he descended Peel Sound, whether

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he would have found any of them living, and certainly none of the later expeditions could by possibility have done so. We may then at least enjoy the reflection, that the singular misdirection of the search to which we have referred did not prolong the sufferings of the unhappy wanderers, nor sacrifice any actual chance of relief. It is to be remembered, however, that all this was then unknown. For aught that any civilized man could tell, Franklin might still be living with his crews, locked in by the Arctic ice, and anxiously looking year after year for succor; and no man could say that a single error, a single delay or neglect, might not result in the practical extinguishment of the last hope. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the departure from the correct views of the earlier speculations as to Franklin's course, before a thorough search in the right direction had been made, should have roused the indignation of the few advocates of the correct theory, and seemed to them like a wilful abandonment of the missing crews.

As to the route actually pursued by Franklin, there is one remarkable deficiency in our information. We know that he wintered in 1845–46 at Beechey Island, and the record found at Point Victory tells us that he was beset in the ice northwest of King William's Island on the 12th of September in the same year. But how did he reach the latter place, — along what straits and past what shores did he sail? The record is silent upon this point. No paper was found at Beechey Island, — from which the expedition is believed, from some indications, to have departed in haste; on none of the coast lines has the slightest indication been found to show that the Erebus and Terror had ever visited them, and not even in Wellington Channel — navigated by Franklin with such singular success, and where he might well be expected to leave evidence of his discoveries and of the great northing which he had made — has so much as a single trace of his passage been found. In fact, the entire absence of any record up to the abandonment of the ships is a point so remarkable, that it seems almost difficult to believe that there is not deposited somewhere on Beechey Island a paper which has been overlooked. McClintock searched anxiously, but without success, in Simpson's cairn, built in 1839, at Cape Herschel, knowing that the retreating

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party must have passed it in going to the mainland, and believing it to be the natural place for them to select for leaving some memorial of their passage. But the cairn had been partly broken down, "as if by persons seeking for something deposited beneath." Franklin's men, struggling to save their own lives, would hardly have opened it except to leave a record. That it was opened by the Esquimaux, — who have also destroyed "the pillar" of Sir James Ross at Point Victory, and his cairn at the Magnetic Pole, — and that this was done after the retreating party's visit, is thus argued by McClintock, who believes that there was left here some record, and perhaps valuable documents, which the sufferers could not hope to carry far, and which might give us full information as to their previous course.

"It is easy to tell whether a cairn has been put up or touched within a moderate period of years; if very old, the outer stones have a weathered appearance, lichens will have grown upon the sheltered portions, and moss in the crevices; but if recently disturbed, even if a single stone is turned upside down, these appearances are altered. If a cairn has been recently built, it will be evident, because the stones picked up from the neighborhood would be bleached on top by the exposure of centuries, whilst underneath they would be colored by the soil in which they were imbedded. To the eye of the native hunter these marks of a recent cairn are at once apparent; and unless Simpson's cairn (built in 1839) had been disturbed by Crozier, I do not think the Esquimaux would have been at the trouble of pulling it down to plunder the câche; but having commenced to do so, would not have left any of it standing, *unless they found what they sought.*

"I noticed with great care the appearance of the stones, and came to the conclusion that the cairn itself was of old date, and had been erected many years ago, and that it was reduced to the state in which we found it by people having broken down one side of it; the displaced stones, from being turned over, looking far more fresh than those in that portion of the cairn which had been left standing. It was with a feeling of deep regret and much disappointment that I left this spot without finding some certain record of those martyrs to their country's fame. Perhaps in all the wide world there will be few spots more hallowed in the recollection of English seamen than this cairn on Cape Herschel."

We must therefore look elsewhere for proof of the course

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followed by Franklin; unfortunately, all the evidence which we can obtain must still leave the point somewhat in doubt. The open space north of King William's Island can be reached by three channels. The route followed by McClintock through Prince Regent's Inlet and Bellot Strait could not have been followed by Franklin, because the inlet was known by him to be much clogged with ice, having been the scene of Parry's and Ross's difficulties; Bellot Strait was not then known to exist, and a supposed strait to the south was after all merely conjectured to exist; while his orders were positive, to push on "till he reached the longitude of that portion of land on which Cape Walker is situated, or about 98° W.," and then try to the southward and westward. The other two channels are Peel Sound, through which McClintock supposes Franklin to have sailed, and the newly-discovered McClintock Channel, farther to the west, through which Brown and others supposed him to have sailed before McClintock's recent discoveries.

We confess that the weight of the argument seems to us still to favor the more western route. It is to be observed, that at the date of Franklin's visit Peel Sound had never been entered. Parry had sailed by it at some distance, had observed the opening between Capes Walker and Rennell, and had thought of trying for a passage in this direction when foiled in the West, but had found his way barred by ice. Sir James Ross, upon his celebrated visit to the Magnetic Pole, had observed that at Cape Nicholas the land trends to the north, and conjectured that it followed the same direction to Cape Walker. Within these limits, and except these conjectures, nothing was known of Peel Sound until 1849. And it is to be remembered, that the general tenor of the speculations in which the Franklin expedition had its origin, and perhaps we may say of his instructions, points beyond Cape Walker as the direction to be first tried. For example, besides the extract from Sir Roderick Murchison's address given above, Parry in 1848 defines the search as lying between the 100th and 110th meridians; and Richardson, Franklin's old companion, not only believed him to have gone southwest from Cape Walker, but even believed in the existence of a channel west of Cape Walker leading to Coronation Gulf,

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and sent Rae in this direction as early as May, 1849. Other things being equal, then, we have a right to say that Franklin is likely to have sailed to the southwest, and hit upon McClintock Channel, rather than to have sailed at once down Peel Sound.

So far as concerns any special condition of the ice, like that which may have sent the expedition up Wellington Channel the first year, all is conjecture, and weighs as much in favor of one route as the other. We must look, then, to the navigability of the two channels; and here we are met by the fact that both have been pronounced impassable. The probabilities, however, in this singular conflict seem to us to be against the route by Peel Sound. Kennedy and Bellot, in 1852, even reported that to the westward Bellot Strait opened into a bay, there being a continuous barrier of land from North Somerset to Prince of Wales Island, which, although they did not lay down on their chart, as it had not been actually travelled over, led them to alter the course of their search! This singular error, of a kind not uncommon in those regions, has been disposed of, however, by McClintock and Young's actual survey of the shores of Peel Sound. It is to be observed, however, that Peel Sound has been visited by as many as seven different parties, and never found in a navigable condition. Lieutenant Browne, in 1851, visited its western shore, and was led to suspect that "the floe was frozen solid to the bottom," and that "this channel is rarely, if ever, sufficiently open for the purposes of navigation." McClintock himself attempted to enter it with the Fox, in 1858, but could only penetrate twenty-five miles. Ross and Kennedy both found the ice very heavy, and although McClintock's sledge parties from Bellot Strait found the ice of only one year's growth, their visits at the favorable season of two summers always found the channel completely blocked.

As regards McClintock Channel, it is to be observed that Ommaney and Osborn, while speaking of the heavy and fixed ice off the northwestern shore of Prince of Wales Island, saw the signs of an immense pressure upon that shore from the Melville Island pack, but they found no signs of the spacious channel which is now known to exist; nor is it to be wondered

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at, that, coming in May, when that flat shore was blocked with polar ice, they failed to discover the movement which goes on outside of the heavy ice-masses of the coast. Neither Wyniatt nor Osborne, at their farthest points of simultaneous observations, saw any evidence of a southerly strait, and yet there lay between them a channel one hundred miles broad. Captain Allen Young, who actually explored the northern shore of this channel in May, 1859, represents it then as a continuous ice stream from the northwest, — not stationary, since it carries down the ice which presses upon the western shore of King William's Island. There is movement, therefore, in this channel, and also a strong and steady current from the northwest, accounting in part for the drift observed by Parry off the western end of Melville Island. As we have seen, Franklin's instructions sent him in the direct course to find this current; we have no reason to suppose that he failed of finding it, and know that, if he succeeded, it must have disclosed to him the water communication with Victoria Strait, and must have thus given him the key to the great question which he was solving. In this state of the case, we confess that we are disposed to wait for more proof, both that Peel Sound is navigable and that McClintock Channel is not, before we give our faith without reservation to Captain Young's opinion, formed from observations made so early in the season as May.

We have dwelt upon this point somewhat minutely, because the route which Franklin took, whether by one channel or the other, led him to the great discovery, for years the chief object of Arctic search, — THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE. He brought his ships through, in advance of all other navigators, into a waterway communicating with the Pacific, and it is quite possible that it was simply a vexatious mistake in the geography of previous travellers that prevented his sailing through to Behring's Strait. When Franklin sailed from England, "King William's Land" was laid down as a peninsula, connected with the mainland by an isthmus, where, in 1854, Rae found a navigable strait. Franklin, therefore, had no course open to him, except that by Victoria Strait, west of King William's Island, which is known to be blocked by the ice poured out from the broad McClintock Channel. If, then, he came through that

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channel, even if he could have struggled out of the ice at its mouth, he would only have done so as a last act of self-preservation, and would have sought to press on where it is now certain that his ships must be beset. If he came through Peel Sound, even with open water along the shore of Boothia, he would have been led, with equally fatal results, to press into the pack of the western strait. With Rae's or McClintock's knowledge of the safe channel, sheltered from the polar ice by King William's Island, he would have borne to the east, and might have appeared in the Pacific, in the fall of 1847, his expedition safe and his success complete. It is some satisfaction, however, to reflect, that he must have known before his death that he had found the key to the great problem, to which, we may add, nothing but a belt of ice four miles wide at the western end of Bellot Strait prevented McClintock from adding a practical solution.

The comparison of the Arctic charts of 1845 and 1860, suggested at the beginning of this article, show in a most interesting manner the rich harvest of discovery which has rewarded the brave struggle for the relief of the Franklin expedition. The great northeastern Arctic archipelago has now been explored in almost every direction; it has even been provisioned for future navigators; northwest passages have been found again and again, and Franklin's own priority of discovery ascertained and fully established; even the northern coast of Greenland has been visited, Smith's Sound has been examined well up towards the eighty-third parallel, and the great open sea visited by Morton. Even the method of travel in these regions has undergone an essential change; it has been found that, by means of sledge travelling, the season when ships are still frozen in their winter quarters may be made the most useful in the year, and the English have thus arrived, by dint of hard experience, at the point of knowledge which the Russians attained generations ago, when, being foiled in their northeastern search by ships, they were forced to complete the survey of the northern coast of Asia by sledges.

We are spared the inquiry whether the advantages to the cause of science are such as to compensate the exposure of life which all Arctic research involves. The noble purpose of the

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last twelve years' work justifies it to the severest code of Christian morals and to the most refined casuistry. Whether the objects now to be gained, the solution of the problem of an open polar sea and the completion of Kane's discoveries, are of such value as to justify the hazard of undertaking this achievement, is a question upon which we cannot enter, further than to notice the fact that the general opinion of scientific authorities favors the enterprise. It now seems probable that the attempt to effect these objects, and to penetrate towards the Pole itself, will be made during the coming season by Dr. Isaac I. Hayes, leader of what McClintock terms "the party of deserters from Dr. Kane," — an epithet which he applies after hearing the account of Petersen, the interpreter, who accompanied Hayes, which accords with the general judgment of those who read Kane's considerate and reserved account of the facts, and which even Dr. Hayes's own adroit management of the story cannot lead us to believe quite undeserved. It is right, perhaps, that Dr. Hayes should have an opportunity to remove the cloud which has so long rested upon him in consequence of this affair; but still we can hardly help feeling that the expedition might start under more favorable auspices for its energetic and persistent prosecution. We will hope, however, that it may justify the anticipation of its friends and promoters; that none of Dr. Hayes's subordinates may think themselves justified in abandoning him; that it may not be necessary for him ever again to drug with opium the unhappy natives of those regions; and that he may adopt, this time, the motto which the gallant McClintock bore upon the flag of his sledge in 1851, — with a prophetic significance of which he at that time could not know the full import, — "Persevere to the end!"

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Art. VI. — DARWIN'S ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin, M. A., Fellow of the Royal, Geological, Linnæan, etc. Societies; Author of "Journal of Researches during H. M. S. Beagle's Voyage Round the World." London: John Murray. 1859. 12mo. pp. 502. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

The work of this eminent naturalist has attracted very general attention, both in England and in this country. It has been read with deep interest, not by men of science alone, but by all thinkers and reasoners. Nor is this to be wondered at. The author is well known as an able and careful observer. His book is the result of twenty years of patient and constant labor, and the facts, assiduously collected, are given in an attractive form, and in a spirit of unusual candor.

Had the theory which is advanced, however, been confined to an inquiry into the origin of species, we doubt whether it would have made this sensation beyond the circle of professional readers. But it adopts, or at least suggests, views on the modes of action of the Creator, and on the ways of Providence, that are repugnant to the most cherished feelings and hopes of man. We would not willingly do injustice to Mr. Darwin, or misinterpret in any, even the slightest degree, the tendency of opinions so sincerely and earnestly advocated. We shall scrupulously set forth his own words, and endeavor to draw from them no conclusions to which they do not inevitably lead.

The theory may briefly be stated thus. All organized beings "naturally increase at so high a rate, that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered with the progeny of a single pair." This tendency to geometrical increase must be checked by destruction, at some period of life. From whatever cause this destruction may proceed, whether from a scarcity of food, producing competition, or from the attacks of natural enemies, there will be a great struggle for existence. Whenever any variety is accidentally furnished with better means of coming off victor in this struggle, or is, as Mr. Darwin calls it, more

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favored, it will have the better chance of surviving, and of reproducing its kind. Its offspring will, by the law of transmission, inherit the same advantages; and among them, or among their descendants, some one will have them in even a more eminent degree. This individual will now enjoy the same relative superiority over its fellows as their common progenitor had enjoyed, and will, in like manner, supplant them also. This process will continue by *natural selection* until the original type is so transmuted, that it is no longer to be recognized as the same, but is regarded as a distinct species.

We shall revert to the consequences flowing from this theory, — consequences, indeed, from which Mr. Darwin does not shrink. At present, we will look at the logical basis on which it rests, with one preliminary remark. The facts adduced have not, for the most part, been controverted. The question, therefore, is taken from the exclusive domain of physical science, and may, without presumption, be discussed by any one qualified to reason from admitted premises, to a conclusion. Other views, also, may be valuable besides those of science. This question has its metaphysical and even its theological aspects. One advantage, even, the unscientific reviewer possesses. He is pledged to no pre-announced conclusions, and can study a new opinion with acknowledged impartiality.

Examined in this view, the argument is this: — 1st. The intervention of man has produced, by careful and repeated selection, remarkable changes in domestic animals, and in cultivated plants; 2d. Nature constantly produces varieties; therefore, 3d. Nature, commanding indefinite periods of time, may bring about much greater changes than man can possibly do, and so much improve and extend any accidental peculiarities, favorable to the individual possessing them, in the great struggle for life, as, by slow degrees, to alter its specific and even its higher relations.

To this reasoning we should object, in the first place, that when man undertakes to modify animals or plants in order to adapt them to his wants, he carefully selects for breed such individuals as possess the qualities that he wishes to foster, and studiously, during repeated generations, prevents the approach of all others. The more valuable the race, the more

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anxiously does he guard it against any accidental corruption. Now Nature has no such means of exclusion. A perpetual crossing and intermingling goes on. Abnormal differences of form promptly disappear, and the original type of the species is preserved. It is singular that, throughout this book, a gradual divergence from this type is taken for granted; but not one instance is produced of a variety having given birth to a new variety, more remote from the primitive pattern. Yet on this assumption the whole theory rests; if it is unfounded, the entire logical basis is undermined.

In the second place, the changes produced by human agency are confined within *specific* limits; that is to say, they consist in the development of certain observed tendencies, and the repression of others; these tendencies, therefore, are not something added to the species, or subtracted from it, but were already there existing. There is no approach towards *generic* changes. The most improved Southdown ram or Ayrshire bull is but a ram or a bull after all. We are aware, that in a single instance, that of the various breeds of domestic pigeons, Mr. Darwin attempts to show that man has succeeded in effecting changes of a higher order.

"Altogether, at least a score of pigeons might be chosen, which, if shown to an ornithologist, and he were told that they were wild birds, would certainly, I think, be ranked by him as well-defined species. Moreover, I do not believe that any ornithologist would place the English carrier, the short-faced tumbler, the runt, the barb, pouter, and fantail in the same genus." — p. 27.

That his indefatigable industry could point to this one instance only of changes apparently generic, is in itself suspicious; we involuntarily ask whether it is quite certain that these birds, now so distinct, really spring from one common stock. On close scrutiny, it will be found that this belief rests on very slender evidence. The common rock-pigeon of the present day is designated as the wild representative of all the domesticated pigeons. As these birds have been favorites, by Mr. Darwin's own showing, about five thousand years, that is, since at least three thousand years B. C., any account of their parentage must be very apocryphal. Indeed, he does

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not pretend to know anything about it; he only infers their origin from internal evidence, and from arguments such as these: that there are no wild rock-pigeons now extant resembling them (that there should be, after so long a lapse of time, we suppose was scarcely to have been expected); that in no climate do they revert to the feral state, — which, if it prove anything, proves too much, namely, that they are not natives of any climate; and lastly, that, when crossed, the hybrid offspring are apt to assume the plumage of the rock-pigeon.

"When two birds belonging to two distinct breeds are crossed, neither of which is blue, or has any of the above specified marks, the mongrel offspring are very apt suddenly to acquire these characters; for instance, I crossed some uniformly white fantails with some uniformly black barbs, and they produced mottled brown and black birds; these I again crossed together, and one grandchild of the pure white fantail and pure black barb was of as beautiful a blue color, with the white rump, double black wing bar, and barred and white-edged tail-feathers, as any wild rock-pigeon. We can understand these facts [*qu.* this fact?] on the well-known principle of reversion to ancestral characters, if all the domestic breeds have descended from the rock-pigeon." — pp. 29, 30.

If this were all conceded, it would not, surely, prove the descent of both the parents. A man may have a son resembling his own father, without the surmise arising that his wife is his own sister. But, after all, only one authentic case is adduced; and Mr. Darwin may be reminded that one pigeon no more proves a theory, than one swallow makes a summer.

If, then, there is no sufficient reason to believe that man can do anything more than to foster and develop existing and apparent tendencies, it cannot be inferred, by analogy, that Nature possesses the powers here claimed for her, so transcendent not merely in amount, but in kind. We say in kind; for it must not be forgotten, that we are so ignorant of the internal mysteries of organization, that we have no right to assume that genera are not distinguished from species, by differences incommensurable with those that separate one species from another.

In the third place, as this reasoning rests entirely on the

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second proposition, namely, that Nature constantly produces varieties, we have a right to demand that the author should be held to strict proof of this. For it is evident that, if Nature never, or very rarely, produces varieties, no hypothesis of the gradual evolution of the complex system of organized forms out of such varieties could be even suggested. Now, it is not our intention to take upon ourselves the burden of proving the negative, but simply to suggest some reasons why we should be slow to admit as established what we are free to allow has been taken for granted by nearly all, if not by all, naturalists. This general consent is entitled to great weight. We think, notwithstanding, that it may be readily explained.

And first, as to the animal kingdom. The existence of varieties among animals is strenuously denied by the highest authority in zoölogy in this, or perhaps in any country. We gladly resign to him the task of defending his position. It should be observed, however, (and this remark applies equally to both kingdoms,) that it is not denied that discrepancies exist between individuals strictly confined within specific limits. Thus among men, one is tall, another short; one dark, another light; and, in general, there are sufficient differences to make it easy to discriminate between them. In like manner, no two leaves on the same tree present, it is said, an absolutely identical contour. But this is not what is meant by "varieties." Such a departure is meant from the normal form, as cannot fairly be included within the limits of ordinary difference, and is not due to hybridization. In practice, naturalists will not agree whether a particular specimen is or is not a variety. This is only owing to fallible judgment; the idea itself is clearly enough apprehended.

We may the more readily confine ourselves to the vegetable kingdom, because Mr. Darwin's instances of variation are drawn from it almost, if not quite exclusively. This is the more noteworthy, because the application, on the other hand, is almost equally exclusively to the animal kingdom; an application the more questionable, from the marked distinction which the presence or absence of an immaterial, or thinking, principle creates between these two great divisions of the organized creation.

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It is well known, and is an elementary fact in Botany, that some genera have the organs of reproduction of both sexes in one flower, others in different flowers on the same plant, and again others have them in different plants. So long as it was taken for granted that the first, called hermaphrodite plants, were independent in their action, and in all instances self-fertilized, every departure from the usual form was necessarily a variation. But if it should appear that this is not so, but that in innumerable instances, if not generally, fertilization takes place from a different plant, either of the same or of some allied species, this necessity no longer exists, and it becomes a fair subject of inquiry whether these so-called varieties are not simply cases of hybridism. That their forms should be, in various degrees, intermediate between different species, is only analogous to our daily experience in the case of mongrel animals, where in the same litter we see one of the offspring resembling one parent, one the other, while the rest have types intermediate between the two. The question then recurs, Is there evidence that, in hermaphrodite plants, fertilization often takes place between plants of allied species? We may let Mr. Darwin answer this question: —

"I am strongly inclined to believe that with all hermaphrodites two individuals, either occasionally or habitually, concur for the reproduction of their kind." — p. 90.

"These facts incline me to believe that it is a general law of nature (utterly ignorant though we be of the meaning of the law) that no organic being self-fertilizes itself for an eternity of generations; but that a cross with another individual is occasionally — perhaps at very long intervals — indispensable." — p. 91.

He shows us also how this takes place through the instrumentality of insects: —

"It is scarcely possible that bees should fly from flower to flower, and not carry pollen from one to the other, to the great good, as I believe, of the plant. Bees will act like a camel-hair pencil, and it is quite sufficient just to touch the anther of one flower and then the stigma of another with the same brush to insure fertilization." — p. 92.

It is therefore established that hybridization may take place much more frequently than it has been heretofore suspected,

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even among hermaphrodite plants, — nay, more, there are cases in which self-fertilization is impossible.

"In many cases, far from there being any aids for self-fertilization, there are special contrivances, as I could show from the writings of C. C. Sprengel and from my own observations, which effectually prevent the stigma receiving pollen from its own flower; for instance, in *Lobelia fulgens*, there is a really beautiful and elaborate contrivance, by which every one of the infinitely numerous pollen-granules are swept out of the conjoined anthers of each flower, before the stigma of that individual flower is ready to receive them; and as this flower is never visited, at least in my garden, by insects, it never sets a seed, though by placing pollen from one flower on the stigma of another, I raised plenty of seedlings; and whilst another species of Lobelia growing close by, which is visited by bees, seeds freely. In very many other cases, though there be no special mechanical contrivance to prevent the stigma of a flower receiving its own pollen, yet, as C. C. Sprengel has shown, and as I can confirm, either the anthers burst before the stigma is ready for fertilization, or the stigma is ready before the pollen of that flower is ready, so that these plants have in fact separated sexes, and must habitually be crossed. How strange are these facts! How strange that the pollen and stigmatic surface of the same flower, though placed so close together, as if for the very purpose of self-fertilization, should in so many cases be mutually useless to each other! How simply are these facts explained, on the view of an occasional cross with a distinct individual being advantageous or indispensable." — pp. 92, 93.

"Many of our orchidaceous plants absolutely require the visits of moths, to remove their pollen-masses, and thus to fertilize them. I have, also, reason to believe that humble-bees are indispensable to the fertilization of the heart's-ease (*Viola tricolor*), for other bees do not visit this flower." — p. 71.

We are aware that we subject ourselves to a charge of scientific heresy in advancing even a doubt of the existence of varieties, properly so called, in the vegetable kingdom; but as we have incurred, or at least deserved, excommunication already, we will venture a step further. If Nature, in particular instances, takes such pains to prevent self-fertilization, may not the contrary be the rule instead of the exception? Mr. Darwin says: —

"So necessary are the visits of bees to papilionaceous flowers, that I

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have found, by experiments published elsewhere, that their fertility is greatly diminished if these visits be prevented." — pp. 91, 92.

Exactly the result in marriages, where the parties are too near akin in blood! Many hitherto anomalous facts would be explained by such an hypothesis as we have here ventured to suggest; such as the extreme difficulty experienced by gardeners in procuring fruit from isolated plants which yet flower freely. It would also explain what has been much insisted on to prove varieties, — namely, the abnormal forms that show themselves in plants from distant localities, cultivated in our botanic gardens, and thus secluded from the vicinity of all their congeners. Such forms would only confirm the well-known fact, that "interbreeding diminishes vigor and fertility."

Before leaving this subject, we will just advert to a very curious illustration, by Mr. Darwin, of the mutual action of plants and animals on each other: —

"From experiments which I have tried, I have found that the visits of bees, if not indispensable, are at least highly beneficial to the fertilization of our clovers; but humble-bees alone visit the common red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), as other bees cannot reach the nectar. Hence I have very little doubt, that if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heart's-ease and red clover would become very rare, or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great degree on the number of field-mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Mr. R. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that 'more than two thirds of them are thus destroyed over all England.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Mr. Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice, and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district!" — pp. 71, 72.

The author might have carried this chain of causes one step further, and said that the number of cats is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of old maids. Confirmation would thus be given to the pretension often advanced by themselves, that old maids live in clover!

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In the fourth place, we should demur to the word *accidental* as applied to any object in nature. The very question at issue is prejudged by the use of such a term. We well know that it is often said that chance only means a cause not within our knowledge. And so it sometimes does. If we cast a die, we say that it is a chance which face will turn up. When, however, it is added, that, because God knows it beforehand, what is chance to man is design to God, there is a strange confusion of ideas between God's agency and his foreknowledge. In the matter we are considering, the explanation is certainly irrelevant; for the word is applied, not to anything as judged of by man, but to an act, original or secondary, of creation. That it was so intended is proved by the great care with which Mr. Darwin in many passages eschews — even, we regret to say, sneers at — the idea of any manifestation of design in the material universe: —

"If green woodpeckers alone had existed, and we did not know that there were many black and pied kinds, I dare say that we should have thought that the green color was a beautiful adaptation to hide this tree-frequenting bird from its enemies." — p. 176.

"If our reason leads us to admire with enthusiasm a multitude of inimitable contrivances in nature, this same reason tells us, though we easily err on both sides, that some contrivances are less perfect. Can we consider the sting of the wasp or of the bee as perfect, which, when used against many attacking animals, cannot be withdrawn, owing to the backward serratures, and so inevitably causes the death of the insect, by tearing out its viscera?" — p. 180.

This is just one of the cases that presents no difficulty to any one who believes that the assailant and the assaulted are alike the objects of God's paternal care, but is quite inexplicable upon the idea of natural selection. Surely, a bee *accidentally* born with a smooth sting would have had the best chance in the struggle for life.

We should in like manner object to the word *favorable*, as implying that some species are placed by the Creator under *unfavorable* circumstances, at least under such as might be advantageously modified; but to this idea we shall have occasion to revert in another connection.

We have hitherto confined ourselves, mainly, to a considera-

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tion of the theory announced on the title-page, — the gradual conversion of varieties into species. As we have already intimated, the author carries it much further. Partly constrained by the laws of "inexorable logic," and partly led on by a self-excited zeal on a theme which he had made the study of his life, he follows out his reasoning to its extreme consequences. This he does in spite of very grave warnings encountered in his own investigations. He says himself: "It may be asked how far I extend the doctrine of the modification of species. The question is difficult to answer, because the more distinct the forms are which we may consider, by so much the arguments fall away in force." (p. 418.)

Now this is the very touchstone of truth. A very slight deviation from a straight line becomes more and more appreciable the more distant the point of comparison. It is not so viewed by Mr. Darwin; and we hope to be excused if we say that we deem his case as really a psychological curiosity. The farther he advances, the more, step by step, the ground falls away under him; yet no suspicion is awakened in his mind that he is building his house upon the sand.

We will now consider the more extended theory, namely, that as varieties by a process of natural selection become developed into species, in like manner species become genera, genera orders, and so on, until at last the whole of organic life can be traced back to a single pair, or, at most, a few pairs of original progenitors. That we have not overstated the author's theory, we shall presently prove.

One objection meets us at the threshold. It is not easy to imagine what enemies the original pair, or their descendants in their own image, could have met with to induce the necessity of this natural selection. In the course of ages, we suppose it will be said, they might people the globe, and then, through competition, the process of improvement might begin. This objection would, no doubt, be made light of by Mr. Darwin, disposing, as he does, of such indefinite periods of time. And here we would make a preliminary protest against the use of so vague a term as *indefinite*, as applied to any topic of scientific investigation, more especially, as in this instance, to time. For what is an indefinite period of time? A million

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or a thousand millions of years, though long, are not *indefinite* periods. The indefinite here merges, practically, into the infinite. Now, we know some of the properties of the infinite, such as the summation of infinite series, for example; but the idea of infinity itself eludes the grasp of our intelligence, and we have no right to invoke its aid for the solution of any finite question. The impropriety of such an invocation appears from this, — that with its aid we can prove anything, even an impossibility. The paradoxes which spring from such use of it are familiar, even in the jest-books. Keep the infinitesimal calculus in its place as a mathematical process, and it works the miracles of science, — it even works out the greatest problem of all, and teaches us what things there are which we cannot learn. But the invocation of the idea of infinity in the midst of speculations on finite affairs, only works confusion. Indeed, without such invocation, it would be impossible for Mr. Darwin to explain the gradual development of so curious and exquisite a piece of mechanism as the eye, from a nerve accidentally sensitive to light. He says: —

"How a nerve comes to be sensitive to light hardly concerns us more than how life itself first originated; but I may remark, that several facts make me suspect that any sensitive nerve may be rendered sensitive to light." — p. 167.

The difficulty is this. In the oldest stratified rocks we find forms, like those of the trilobite, with a well-developed organ of vision; while the gigantic ichthyosaurus had an eye that any modern reptile might envy. It is necessary, then, to resort to times far anterior to the oldest stratified rocks. Of this Mr. Darwin is himself aware.

"We should probably," he says, "have to descend far beneath the lowest known fossiliferous stratum to discover the earlier stages by which the eye has been perfected." — p. 168.

These stratified rocks are already reasonably ancient.

"In all probability a far longer period than three hundred million years has elapsed since the latter part of the secondary period." — p. 252.

This far longer period than three hundred millions of years probably "shrinks into insignificance" compared with the enormous lapse of time since the deposit of the earliest

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Silurian rocks. As to the time anterior to these necessary by Mr. Darwin's theory, he leaves us in a pleasant state of doubt, which is not wonderful in one who deals so freely with the infinite, or, as he calls it, the indefinite. He at one time speaks (p. 169) of millions on millions of years; at another he says: "Consequently, if my theory be true, it is indisputable that, before the lowest Silurian stratum was deposited, long periods elapsed, — as long as, or probably far longer than, the whole interval from the Silurian age to the present day." (p. 268.) But in the following passage he claims a time *indefinitely* longer than either.

"The whole history of the world, as at present known, although of a length quite incomprehensible to us, will hereafter be recognized as a mere fragment of time, compared with the ages which have elapsed since the first creature, the progenitor of innumerable extinct and living descendants, was created." — p. 422.

The creation is, certainly, removed back tolerably far; but we have the comfort of learning that the day of judgment is at least equally remote.

"As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally unappreciable length." — p. 423.

If geological investigations showed a gradually ascending series of forms, with the simultaneous extinction of the lower ones, there might be some plausibility in this hypothesis, — though even then it would be difficult to explain the absence, in each and every case, of all the intermediate forms in the great record. But forms of the lowest type are as numerous now as ever. The lingula, one of the earliest shell-fish, lives at the present day in perfect harmony with the clam, which ought, on all principles of natural selection, to have superseded it. And what good, after all, is secured to any class of beings by this supposed gradual metamorphosis? As fast as any species improves, its rivals and its enemies are also improving. While nature avails itself of an *accidentally* harder proboscis

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to enable the insect, now become a borer, to lay its eggs within the bark of a tree, secure from the attacks of its enemy, the insectivorous bird, that bird has been obtaining claws, to enable it to climb, and a beak, to enable it to pierce the same bark; and now, as a woodpecker, it makes precisely the same havoc among the young larvæ as it did before. After all the painful and prolonged efforts of nature, through "millions on millions" of years, the relative numbers stand exactly where they would have done had no such heroic efforts been made.

Another serious objection to this theory is, that it may legitimately be extended much farther than its author, unless it be in his final summing up, has attempted. For why stop at the limits of human vision? Why ignore the claims of the microscopic infusoria, hundreds of which may nestle on the point of a needle? Nay, after the microscope shall have reached its utmost perfection, there will be myriads of created organisms, beyond its reach, to contend for the honor of being the living representatives of our first ancestors.

If the results of a minute analysis of this theory in the merely physical view are so unsatisfactory, how much more serious are the objections against the evidently forced and painful attempt to trace the development of mind! So infinitely superior is reason to instinct, and so apparently incommensurable are their natures, that we have a fair right to demand explicit proof of their original identity. This is the more reasonable, because the recent introduction of man upon the globe would justify us in expecting to find geological evidence of the former existence of numerous forms intermediate between him and the anthropoid apes. No such evidence has ever, that we know of, been alleged. There is, however, an inherent impossibility in the simultaneous development of mind and body, that seems to us absolutely conclusive. For as all deviations from a specific type are, by this theory, accidental in the first instance, though afterwards taken advantage of by nature, the chances that such a deviation should occur in any organ, and at the same moment in the instinct by which the animal would make use of it, would, in any single instance, be exceedingly small. When, then, we fancy that a rise in the scale of being from a mollusk to a man presup-

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poses an almost infinite series of such coincidences, it is not too much to say that the difficulty rises to a mathematical impossibility. Without such a simultaneous development, however, the animal could not survive. Suppose, for instance, the gills converted into lungs, while instinct still compelled a continuance under water, would not drowning ensue? Or if a quadruped, not yet furnished with wings, were suddenly inspired with the instinct of a bird, and precipitated itself from a cliff, would not the descent be hazardously rapid?

If we should concede to Mr. Darwin, what we should not do except for argument, that any such gradual transformations really take place, still it could not, on any principles of just reasoning, be denied that they must be ascribed to the intervention of some power superior in intelligence and wisdom to mere chance. This leads us to some considerations derived from natural theology, — considerations not irrelevant to this discussion, because whatever relates to the mind of man, irrespective of revelation, is within the domain of science.

We said, in the beginning of this article, that the reason of the deep interest which this book had awakened, both in England and in this country, was, that it adopts, or at least suggests, views on the modes of action of the Creator, and on the ways of Providence, that are repugnant to the most cherished feelings and hopes of man. We have also promised to prove that we have rather understated than exaggerated the opinions of the author. We proceed to justify the assertion, and to redeem the pledge.

"Nothing at first can appear more difficult to believe, than that the more complex organs and instincts should have been perfected, not by means superior to, though analogous with, human reason, but by the accumulation of innumerable slight variations, each good for the individual possessor." — p. 398.

This, we take it, is neither more nor less than a formal denial of any agency beyond that of a blind chance in the development or perfecting of the organs or instincts of created beings. True, a first cause is admitted; but it is with that sort of protest which is suggested where its agency is studiously limited to the least imaginable amount of intervention. The exist-

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ence of a sustaining Providence, if not denied in terms, is at least constantly ignored. It is in vain that the apologists of this hypothesis might say that it merely attributes a different mode and time to the Divine agency, — that all the qualities subsequently appearing in their descendants must have been implanted, and remained latent, in the original pair. Such might be a refuge to which devout minds would be reluctantly driven, were they constrained by irrefragable proof, which happily they are not, to admit such a cosmogony; but it is nowhere so stated in this book, and would be, we are sure, disclaimed by the author.

The conclusions at which he arrives are thus stated by himself: —

"I believe that animals have descended from, at most, only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number." — p. 419.

Mortifying enough to be descended from an oyster; but Mr. Darwin is rather of the opinion that we must rest satisfied with a lichen.

"Analogy would lead me one step further, namely, to the belief that all animals and plants have descended from some one prototype. But analogy may be a deceitful guide. Nevertheless, all living things have much in common in their chemical composition, their germinal vesicles, their cellular structure, and their laws of growth and reproduction. We see this even in so trifling a circumstance as that the same poison often similarly affects plants and animals; or that the poison secreted by the gall-fly produces monstrous growths on the wild rose or oak-tree. Therefore I should infer by analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed." — p. 419.

Be this as it may, we were all, certainly, once fishes.

"I can, indeed, hardly doubt that all vertebrate animals having true lungs have descended by ordinary generation from an ancient prototype, of which we know nothing, furnished with a floating apparatus or swim-bladder." — p. 171.

This genealogy he considers to be an ennobling one.

"When I view all beings, not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Silurian system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled." — p. 423.

He is, moreover, so well satisfied with his own views, as

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fondly to anticipate that they will give rise to a new system of metaphysics.

"In the distant future, I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." — p. 423.

"Thus he reaches at last this jubilant conclusion: —

"Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms, or into one; and that, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed laws of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved." — p. 424.

Such are the views propounded by Mr. Darwin. Without intending to charge him with approaching the subject with any sceptical intentions, we cannot but regret and distrust them. Who indeed are we, to dare, in the imperfection of our knowledge, to assign the bounds, or explain the modes of action, of the great First Cause? The fact of life it is given to us to know, — to compare the forms of its manifestations, — and to explain, in a limited degree, the laws by which He governs it; but the deep mystery of life itself is, for wise purposes, to us inscrutable.

For our own part, it seems to us at once more reverent, and more consonant to the feelings implanted in our nature, to believe in an ever-acting Providence, — to believe that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the Father, — to believe that all the adaptations so admirably fitted to the need or the gratification of His creatures are the direct act of the Creator. At the risk of incurring the sneer of Mr. Darwin by seeming "no more startled at a miraculous act of creation than at an ordinary birth," we confess ourselves to be as unable to explain the one as the other. As to miracles, they have never presented to our mind any metaphysical difficulty. The Power that could enact and sustain, must, in our apprehension, of necessity be equally able to suspend or alter, the laws of nature.

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Art. VII. — REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

The readers of the Examiner — those particularly who are familiar with its earlier as well as later volumes — will not find themselves entire strangers to the work of Dr. Lamson,* though it contains much that is new. They will welcome it with feelings somewhat like those with which we greet an old and valued friend, whom we had not seen for some years, but who has just returned from a foreign tour, hale and vigorous, retaining all the characteristics which originally won our esteem, and ready to instruct and delight us by fresh information respecting the regions through which he has travelled. The larger part of the present volume consists of articles relating to early Christian antiquity, which were contributed by Dr. Lamson to the pages of this review from time to time for a long series of years, the first (on Justin Martyr) appearing in the number for November, 1829. Those articles gave their author a deserved reputation for thorough acquaintance with the subjects of which they treat, and the wish has often been expressed that they might be collected into a volume. We have them here rewrought, and enlarged by a considerable amount of matter relating chiefly to the topic in which recent discussions seem to have revived an interest, namely, the origin and development of the doctrine of the Trinity. The following are the leading subjects treated of in the work, each under various subdivisions: — Justin Martyr, and his Opinions, pp. 1 – 68; — Clement of Alexandria and his Times, pp. 69 – 116; — Origen, and his Theology, pp. 117 – 178; — Arius, and the Arian Controversy, pp. 179 – 231; — Eusebius the Historian, pp. 232 – 256; — The Apostles' Creed, and the Apostolical Constitutions, pp. 285 – 302; — Artistic Representations of the Trinity, pp. 303 – 319; — and Festivals of the Ancient Christians, with which the volume concludes.

At the beginning of the article on Justin, Dr. Lamson alludes to the writings of the so-called "Apostolic Fathers," namely, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, "whose compositions," he says, "if any portions of them remain which are entitled to be pronounced genuine, have come down to us so disfigured by interpolations, or mixed up with palpable forgeries, that they cannot be safely quoted for any purpose of history or doctrine." This sentence of condemnation appears to us rather too indiscriminate. It is certainly correct as regards the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, and what has been styled the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome; but the other writings referred to stand on a different footing. The so-called Epistle of Barnabas is indeed rejected by the best critics as not the production of Barnabas

* The Church of the First Three Centuries; or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with special reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its Late Origin and Gradual Formation. By Alvan Lamson, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 8vo.

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the companion of St. Paul, which it does not even profess to be, but it was certainly written before the close, perhaps before the middle, of the second century; the "Shepherd" of Hermas is of at least equal antiquity; while there really seems to be no good reason for doubting that the "First" Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Church at Corinth, and the brief Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, though we possess them only in a mutilated form, are substantially genuine. The external evidence for the former is certainly very strong; and we know of no internal considerations which weaken its force. They both bear the stamp of an almost apostolic simplicity, forming a striking contrast, in this respect, with the spurious productions which have been associated with them. At any rate, as all these writings, with the exceptions first mentioned, clearly belong to a period not later than the second century, it would have been proper, we think, for Dr. Lamson to have noticed a little more particularly their doctrinal bearing on the subject of the Trinity. He indeed observes (p. 266), that, whatever may be their origin or date, "they are not witnesses for the Trinity, but the reverse." This fact it might have been well to illustrate. Similar remarks may be made respecting some other early writings, particularly the Epistle to Diognetus, which Dr. Lamson (p. 13, note) regards as "of undoubted antiquity, and of great value as presenting a vivid picture of Christian life at the period at which it was written," but passes over its Christology.

A special reason for noticing these productions is the careless and misleading statements which we too often find concerning them in orthodox writers. We may take as a specimen the account given of their doctrine in Professor Henry B. Smith's very useful and convenient "History of the Church of Christ in Chronological Tables," recently published, which we can heartily commend in many respects, but not for freedom from dogmatic bias. According to him, "Clement says, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God; Ignatius speaks of Jesus Christ our God; the Epistle to Diognetus says that Christ is the Creator of all things; Clement also speaks of the passion of God." Farther on, he says, that "Ignatius speaks of one physician, fleshly and spiritual, begotten and also unbegotten; God incarnate," &c. Professor Smith does *not* tell us, that his first quotation is from the so-called "*Second* Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," which he himself (p. 10, f.), in accordance with the almost universal judgment of competent scholars, pronounces "*spurious*," and of the existence of which before the fourth century we have no proof; and that in the Syriac version of Ignatius, one of the two passages (Ep. ad Ephes., cc. 1, 7) which he quotes is wholly omitted, and the other so reads as to nullify his argument. He does not observe that the Epistle to Diognetus in the passage referred to (c. 7), though calling the Logos "the artificer and framer" or "demiurge" of the universe, expressly represents him as only the instrument "*by* whom the almighty and all-creating and invisible God created the heavens," &c., in accordance with the uniform doctrine of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

Nor does Clement anywhere use the expression "the passion of God,"

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or anything like it. The passage referred to is c. 2 of his genuine Epistle to the Corinthians, where we have the expression *παθήματα αὐτοῦ*, —*τοῦ θεοῦ* indeed being the nearest antecedent. If we insist that he wrote with strict grammatical accuracy, and reject the conjectural emendation of Junius (Young), a Trinitarian, of *μαθήματα* for *παθήματα*, (the Epistle being extant in but a single manuscript,) we simply make Clement a Patripassian; for the term, *θεός* in every other passage of the Epistle unquestionably denotes the Father. But even Dorner in his great work (*Lehre von der Person Christi*, I. 139) says that he "does not venture to use this passage as a proof that Clement calls Christ God." He adopts the easy supposition of a negligent use of the pronoun *αὐτός*, referring to Christ in the mind of the writer, though not named in the immediately preceding context. The same view of the passage is taken by Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, I. 46, note, 2d ed.; by Martini, *Versuch*, etc., p. 24, note; and by Reuss, *Théologie Chrétienne*, II. 326, 2e éd. Of this use of *αὐτός* we have another remarkable example in Clement, c. 36, and it is not uncommon in the New Testament, especially in the writings of John; see Winer, *Gram.* § 22. 3. 4, 6th ed., and Robinson's N. T. Lex., article *αὐτός*, 2. b. *ad fin.* This passage is the sole straw to which those can cling who maintain that Clement of Rome believed in the deity of Christ; a notion in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of his language in every other part of his Epistle.

But to return to Dr. Lamson. The account of Justin Martyr and his opinions occupies seven chapters, the subjects of which we will briefly notice. The first relates chiefly to his life. The second and third contain a critical examination of his writings, particularly his Apologies, or defences of Christianity, which are highly interesting, not as elegant literary compositions, but from the light they throw on the character and circumstances of the early Christians. Justin's intellectual defects, his want of judgment as a critic and expositor, his looseness of reasoning and inaccuracy in quotation, Dr. Lamson makes no attempt to conceal. He gives curious specimens of his allegorizing extravagances in the interpretation of Scripture, — extravagances in which others of the Fathers of far superior minds, as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, indulged to even greater excess. He does not forget, however, as many seem to have done, that, in judging of the intellectual ability of the early Christian writers, we must not regard as characteristic of individuals mistakes and follies which belonged to the prevailing philosophy of the age. The fourth and fifth chapters treat of Justin's doctrine of the Logos, and of the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity, which is clearly traced to the later Platonic philosophy, particularly as expounded in the writings of Philo. In the sixth chapter, after referring to the concessions of some of the most learned Trinitarian scholars, as Cudworth, Brucker, Petavius, and Huet, that "the inferiority of the Son was generally, if not uniformly, asserted by the ante-Nicene Fathers," Dr. Lamson proves, by numerous and decisive quotations, that this was the doctrine of Justin. In respect to the Spirit, he maintains that "Justin evidently regarded it as

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a divine influence, or mode of operation, in the Deity." (p. 59.) He says, however: "We are well aware of the difficulty of ascertaining precisely what Justin's notions of the Spirit were. His expressions, taken literally, sometimes conflict with each other." We incline to believe that the true solution of the difficulty is the fact that Justin's notions were unsettled, and not clear to himself. We know that the early Christian Fathers, like Philo before them, wavered between the conception of the Logos as an attribute and as a person; and that they often, as Dr. Lamson remarks (pp. 59, 60, note, and p. 81), confounded the Spirit with the Logos, and the Wisdom of God with both. When, therefore, they converted one of these into a proper person, nothing was more natural than that they should hypostatize the other, without, however, permanently and consistently retaining this notion, so opposed to the general tenor of Scripture. Consistency, indeed, is the last thing to be expected in speculations of this sort, founded on a metaphysical absurdity. With deference to Dr. Lamson, therefore, we are disposed to agree with those who believe that Justin, in the two famous passages quoted in pp. 57, 58 (Apol. I. cc. 6, 13), conceived of the Spirit as a person, holding, as he says, "the third rank" in relation to the Father and the Son, the angels being also associated with them as objects of a certain degree of religious reverence. His notion of the gradation between the Father, the Son, the Spirit, and the angels, may have been something like that of Eusebius, who illustrates it (Præp. Ev., Lib. vii. c. 14) by comparing the Father to "the all-embracing heaven," the Logos to the sun, the Spirit to the moon, and the angels to the stars.

In the seventh chapter, Dr. Lamson gives an account of the interesting facts preserved by Justin respecting the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper as administered in his day, and the Sunday worship of Christians.

Our space will not permit us to describe with any minuteness the remaining contents of the volume. In the article on Clement of Alexandria and his Times, the writings of the Christian apologists who immediately succeeded Justin, namely, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, and Athenagoras, and also those of Irenæus and Tertullian, are brought under review, and the evidence of their belief in the inferiority of the Son is forcibly presented. It is shown that they, as well as Justin, knew nothing of the doctrine of eternal generation, but regarded the Son as begotten by an act of the Father's will, just before the creation of the world, to be his instrument in the work. Clement's belief in the inferiority of the Son is also established by decisive quotations.

The chapters on Origen and his theology are, as might be supposed, of great interest, but we can only allude to them. He is a most important witness in proof that nothing like the modern doctrine of the Trinity was received by the Christian Church in his time; though some of his speculations undoubtedly contributed to prepare the way for it. In connection with Origen, Dr. Lamson treats of the recently discovered work, first published (in 1851) as his *Philosophumena*, but

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now generally regarded as the production of Hippolytus. He shows that this is altogether opposed to the Athanasian doctrine.

In the article on Arius and the Arian controversy, Dr. Lamson illustrates by quotations the opinions of the Fathers who flourished between the time of Origen and that period, noticing particularly Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian, Theognostus, Pierius, Methodius, and Lactantius. It strikes us, however, as very remarkable, that he does not even mention Novatian, whose book *De Trinitate*, or *De Regula Fidei*, was written probably about A. D. 257, and represents, without any reasonable doubt, the current orthodoxy of the time. Very pertinent and instructive quotations might have been given from this treatise, which teaches in the clearest manner the unrivalled supremacy of the Father, "the One God, to whose greatness, majesty, and power nothing can be compared," and the entire dependence of the Son. There is no approach in it to the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. Like Origen and Eusebius, Novatian declares the Spirit or Paraclete "inferior to Christ" (c. 16). The interpolations and alterations of several passages by Gagnæus, the first editor, making Novatian say on these points precisely the opposite of what he wrote, or softening his heterodox language by such insertions as *quadam ratione, quodam modo, aliquo pacto*, are a curious specimen of "pious fraud." (See Jackson's edition of Novatian, p. 119, note 2, and p. 239, note 5.) But the disease was too deeply seated to be removed by these surgical operations.

In the chapter on the theological opinions of Eusebius we think some citations from his writings might have been advantageously introduced. The utter hopelessness of any attempt to defend his orthodoxy deserves to have been more fully illustrated. The monstrous interpolations and falsifications of the Latin translator of his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, who, as Montfaucon remarks, "sciens et prudens scriptorem Græcum vitiavit et catholice loqui compulit," furnish another noteworthy example of pious fraud.

In the second chapter of the article on the Apostles' Creed there are some very just and important remarks on the meaning of certain terms used by the early Fathers, which afterwards acquired a different sense. Inattention to this fact has led to great mistakes.

In the article on Ancient Hymnology we must point out one exception to the scrupulous accuracy of quotation which, so far as we have observed, elsewhere characterizes the work; — a somewhat unfortunate one, as the passage is often cited by our Trinitarian friends, who should have the full benefit of all the support to be derived from it. The anonymous author of a work against the heresy of Artemon, quoted by Eusebius (Lib. V. c. 28), appeals, according to Dr. Lamson (p. 290), to the "Psalms and Hymns of the Brethren, written at the beginning by the faithful," and "setting forth the praises of Christ, the word of life." Here the important word θεολογοῦντες should have been represented in the translation. The passage may be rendered as follows: "The psalms and hymns of the brethren, written by the faithful from the beginning, set forth the praises of Christ, the Word of God, *ascrib-*

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ing divinity to him," τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὕμνουσι θεολογοῦντες. "Divinity," but not supreme divinity. The same writer just before makes a similar appeal to authors whose works have come down to us, as Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Clement. We *know* in what way *they* "attributed divinity to Christ;" that they represented him as *a* divine being, but not as *the* Divine Being, the God over all, on whom they everywhere describe him as wholly dependent. The term θεός is often used in the writings of the Fathers, not as a proper, but as a common name, being applied to angels, and even to Christians considered as immortal beings, bearing the divine likeness. Clement calls his true Gnostic, or perfect Christian, ἐν σαρκὶ περιπολῶν θεός, "a God walking in the flesh," and abounds in similar language. (See Bp. Kaye's Clement, p. 253.) To ignore this use of the terms θεός and *deus*, and to quote passages from the early Fathers in which they are applied to Christ as if they proved his proper deity, is to practise a gross imposition on the unlearned reader.*

We cannot give a better summary of the results of Dr. Lamson's studies in reference to the history of early opinions concerning the Son and the Spirit, than by quoting the following paragraph, with which his volume concludes: —

"After what has been said in the foregoing pages, we are prepared to reassert, in conclusion, that the modern doctrine of the Trinity is not found in any document or relic belonging to the Church of the first three centuries. Letters, art, usage, theology, worship, creed, hymn, chant, doxology, ascription, commemorative rite and festive observance, so far as any remains, or any record of them are preserved, coming down from early times, are, as regards this doctrine, an absolute blank. They testify, so far as they testify at all, to the supremacy of the Father, the only true God, and to the inferior and derived nature of the Son. There is nowhere among these remains a co-equal Trinity. The cross is there; Christ is there as the good Shepherd, the Father's hand placing a crown, or victor's wreath, on his head; but no undivided Three, — co-equal, infinite, self-existent, and eternal. This was a conception to which the age had not arrived. It was of later origin."

A large part of Dr. Lamson's work, and what to many may prove the most attractive part of its contents, has no direct relation to the subject of the Trinity. We refer to the biographical sketches of the more eminent Fathers, to the accounts of their theological and philosophical speculations, and to the pictures presented of Christian life in the early ages of the Church. This portion of the work seems to us admirably executed, and is of great value. The articles on Clement of Alexandria and his Times, and on Origen and his Theology, are especially interesting and instructive.

The work in general may be characterized as eminently trustworthy. It is not a hasty compilation from second-hand sources of information. The author has carefully studied the writings of the Fathers themselves, and given us the fruits of ripe and accurate scholarship.

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* In justice to Dr. Lamson it should perhaps be stated, that in the place where this quotation from Eusebius is made, he is speaking with reference to the *writers*, and not to the *doctrinal character* of the ancient hymns.

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Dr. Lamson's style is remarkable for clearness and directness, and is frequently enlivened by a peculiar humor which it is difficult to describe, but which makes his remarks on the least promising subjects highly entertaining. He knows what he wants to say, and says it, in vigorous and racy English.

It only remains to add, that the book is very handsomely printed, and in all its externals is highly creditable to the taste of the publishers.

ALONG with any fresh religious movement, and the development of any genuine type of religious thought, there always comes a disposition to search the first Christian records more, and compare the flavor of the new stream with the waters of the original spring. The day for simple, literal, popular commentaries seems to have passed by, with the youth of the generation now come to manhood. We have treatises, essays, manuals of ethical doctrine or theological discussion, in the form of comment on holy writ; and the critical or archæological learning of the last fifty years is put to its proper use, as a base or scaffolding to the higher tasks of religious teaching.

The array of Biblical discussion brought before us in these few months all witnesses to this change. Luther's glorious commentary on "Galatians," in which he fights the good fight of his own day against monkery and priestcraft, under the flag of St. Paul, is brought freshly forward, in its garb of rich and antique English, as part of the supply to the popular demand.* Robertson's Lectures on the "Corinthians" are a new testimony to the wisdom, devoutness, practical zeal, and Christian temper of their eminent and excellent author. And we have, as the newest illustration of the forms of interpretation prevalent among the "Liberal" party in theology, two treatises curiously unlike in principle and method, though put forth together from sources claiming authority and respect as high as any, as representatives of Unitarian theology.

WE wish that time and space were at our command for an extended examination of Dr. Morison's long looked for and most welcome Commentary on the Gospels;† and we shall not be content until this measure of simple justice has been meted out to it. As a rule, commentaries are not entertaining books; and they are by no means profitable in proportion to their tediousness. Sometimes they are poor paraphrases,—a very little Scripture to a vast deal of water; sometimes they are heaps upon heaps of conflicting interpretations, each negativing or at least hopelessly limiting the other, as, for example, in much of the exegetical literature of most patient, most learned, most conscientiously many-sided, but most confusing Germany; often they dwell till one is ready to scream with impatience upon what is perfectly obvious,

* A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By MARTIN LUTHER. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.

† Disquisitions and Notes on the Gospels. Matthew. By JOHN H. MORISON. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

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and leave us utterly without help where help is indispensable. Dr. Morison has reason to be thankful that, where so many have failed, he has succeeded, and that, without sacrificing the practical purpose of instruction in the Scriptures, he has made a book which is "good" without being tedious, and which can be read. We see that we have used the word "commentary" without authority from the author's title-page, and must commend the good judgment which has set forth these valuable studies in the Gospel of Matthew as "Disquisitions and Notes," — disquisitions for continuous perusal, notes for reference, — an admirable arrangement of the contents of the volume. For us, the great charm of the book, even beyond its abundant learning and its simple and beautiful style, is the fulfilment of the law imperative in all exposition, but especially in the exposition of the Scriptures, that the same Spirit which wrote must interpret the words written. Dr. Morison, unlike too many modern critics, does not bring to the interpretation of the Bible the settled conviction that many things which it at least seems to teach are incredible, and that, even though the Scriptures should be broken in the process, these things must by dint of exegesis be explained out of them. His two questions are, What said the Lord? and, What did the Lord mean by so saying? — and these are the only questions which a revering, loyal disciple has any call to ask, not seeking to bring down the great Master to the scanty measures of our human knowledge of divine things, but rather listening with eager docility when He who spake as man never spake before, as man shall never speak again, tells us of heavenly things, or uncovers for us the abysses of sin and fear that stretch out under the feet of the wanderer. It is accordingly a volume which we should be glad to put into the hands of all young persons who desire to add to their faith knowledge; and we believe that even mature thinkers who have shared the confusion of our religious times will be thankful to find, as they follow Dr. Morison, that the Gospel of their childhood has been restored to their hands, and that the "Glory which gilds the sacred page" encloses a real warm Sun as the heart of it, and is something more than a gleaming mist. We wish that we could follow the expositor into the details of his exposition, for continually as we have turned over the pages we have met with remarks which indicate a large acquaintance with the literature of his subject and a true spiritual insight. We confess to an honest pride, that one of a company of Christian scholars who have been charged with dealing very largely in criticism and questioning, should have given to the Church a book which every unprejudiced reader must commend for its well-sustained affirmations, and which will be of great service to sincere students of the New Testament of every name. We are satisfied that many outside of what is known as the Unitarian denomination will thank Dr. Morison for his work of love.

Hase's Life of Jesus * is a complete complement to Dr. Morison's

* Life of Jesus, a Manual for Academic Study. By Dr. Carl Hase, Professor of Theology in the University at Jena. Translated by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860.

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book. It is, indeed, a fair enough illustration of the catholicity of American Unitarianism, that these two books should be published at the same time, equally under the auspices of the Unitarian Association. The temper of the book, and the learning of the author, commend it to the careful attention of students, professional or unprofessional. After a century which prided itself on being the century of *analysis*, and fifty-nine years of another century which has thus far principally occupied itself by saying that the last century was a century of analysis, there is a satisfaction in finding a competent student to tell us what is the present state of critical inquiry as to the life of Christ, and how much of the history which every Christian heart holds dear among the treasures of its faith has resisted the agents, counter-agents, solvents, and crucibles of a century and a half's researches.

Strictly speaking, the book is not "The Life of Jesus" any more than Strauss's is, or Neander's, or Dr. Henry Ware's, or Dr. Furness's, or the mythical John Fleetwood's, or any other "Life of Jesus" that ever was written. It would be easy, perhaps, to show that there never can be any "Life of Jesus" which shall hold the same literary place in regard to him that any of the world's biographies hold with regard to any of the world's heroes. Certainly, the four Gospellers have left us no such lives. They have left four fragments, or perhaps four collections of fragments, which do not, except to very shifty and predetermined theorists, profess to be biographies. They are simply memoirs of infinitely more value, we venture to say, than if they were systematized by the mould of biographical narrative.

Dr. Hase's book is rather an essay on the life of Christ, written with special reference to every hypothesis relating to it which has been offered by scepticism or superstition in eighteen centuries. This reference, generally manly and adequate, constitutes the value of the book. The tone is reverential, and the author is a Christian. That is clear. But none the less fairly does he examine the thousand theories which come in his way; and just as willing is he to dissect error, which is, of course, unessential from truth, which is, of course, the only essential, wherever he thinks he finds them tied. The reader may agree or disagree with him. But he will never fancy that a fond resolution to sustain the Saviour, whom it is clear he loves, makes Hase blindly support every allegation which has ever been made in his honor. As little does he run riot with any pet theory, and, because it has taken him neatly over a brook in the beginning of his critical journey, compel it to leap every five-barred gate on the right and left of his road as he travels.

We have intimated that the book is rather a book to interest students, than those who do not care to study the Gospels critically. It will amaze, and even grieve, persons who are not accustomed to such study, and do not want to be. Indeed, there is many a sharp hit in it, aimed right and left, by the way, at one or another absurdity of the sceptics or of the infatuated believers, which is not understood unless we have had some previous acquaintance with the literature of the subject.

Being, therefore, simply what it professes to be, a review of the

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criticism of the life of Jesus, so adjusted as to show what is the present condition of the evidences for the external details of his ministry, we need scarcely say that the book does not affect to come within the class of simply devout books, which are stamped as *erbaulich*, or distinctly *edifying*. We have heard some criticism aimed hardly at it because it is not. It will be undoubtedly intimated, in one quarter and another, that Christians had better defend their records, and leave the criticism of them to others. From this view we dissent entirely. The Church is no better employed when she makes the believers believe more, than she is when she makes the unbelievers begin to believe. It is, undoubtedly, more agreeable to fan the flames of devotion, than it is to blow sparks into a flame. It is more agreeable to cosset and comfort a handful of saints, than it is to get hold of one or another of the great throng of sceptics, and lift him up to the plane of intelligent belief. Credulity is perhaps more "attractive," as the Fourierites would say, than scepticism. But it does not follow that a Gospel literature which deadens the occasional conscience-gnawings of the credulous, is any more elevated in its tone, any more pious, any more profitable to the Church, than that which meets the sceptic on his own chosen ground of inquiry, wrestles with him fairly, shoulders him, arms and armor, and brings him also into the camp of Christ to do battle in his turn against the enemy.

We dare not say that Hase's book is interesting, except to those who want to learn. It is severely condensed, so severely that one wonders how verbose Germany ever "appreciated it." It still maintains some characteristics of that land, however, having five Prefaces, four introductory letters, an Introduction which includes a general survey of the subject, and a Preliminary History at the beginning, together with two Appendixes at the end. It is broken up into a hundred and twenty-two sections, which are rather different essays on subjects connected with the inquiry than the several members of an organic biography, where one chapter leads to another in regular sequence from the beginning through. It is to be hoped, however, that no person seeks in such a book the sort of interest that he seeks in a work of ordinary literature; and, as we have said, the English student who really wants help for the faithful study of the life of Jesus has assistance here of the first character, such as he has nowhere else at command.

No feature in the infinitely diversified literature of the day is more striking than the abundance and apparent popularity of religious reading. Whole libraries of sermons, essays, commentaries, are poured forth with the fluency of extempore speech and the speed of the power-press. Cumming and Spurgeon, having got the ear of certain religious classes in the metropolis, outrival in both hemispheres, as far as numbers go, the popularity of Irving or Scott in their lifetime, and tread close on the heels of Dickens, Thackeray, or Mrs. Stowe. Mr. Beecher preaches to the great public from the leaves of two newspapers — sacred and secular — every week. Quite a library has been gathered from the like record of Theodore Parker's stated utterances in Boston.

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And now, besides a previous volume of his own characteristic excellences of speech, we have the first of a series * of handsome volumes, in which we are promised the fine and eloquent sermons of Mr. Chapin. Surely, the pulpit has been thoroughly redeemed in our day from the old charge of dulness. For whatever change has taken place in the public taste, or in the style of homiletics addressed to it, Mr. Chapin is entitled to his full share of credit. It would be difficult to name a person, who to a thorough liberality of creed unites at once more of popular power, more breadth and loftiness of tone, larger humanity in the best sense of that hard-used word, and a temper more utterly Christian and devout in the presence of religious emotions, ideas, and hopes. No man could be thought of sooner than he to represent the cheerful, manly type of piety, which we associate especially with the best thought and life of our own day. Mr. Chapin believes in the real advance of mankind in the ideas and practices of Christianity. He believes in the Gospel as a force at the heart of our civilization, — to be defended from assault, to be guarded from real perils, exposed to a thousand undermining and corrupting things, but with a divine, buoyant, healthy energy of its own, in which it is the best privilege of a good man's life to share. Endowed with a large and rich nature of his own, full of instincts and sympathies which keep him close to the popular understanding and heart, having the singular gift and force of oratory, which with so large a portion of the public is the seal and crown of all intellectual gifts, he has proved himself admirably fitted for the sphere which he has so admirably filled. It is a fortunate thing for the public, and fortunate for the prospects of a liberal, hearty, and free religion among us, that the man and the sphere are so widely recognized.

Of the volume before us, we need say little else than that it is the faithful record of the living speech of such a man as we have described, and gives fair evidence of his special gift and power. Almost every page we have turned might be cited in illustration of the finest qualities of extemporaneous address. There is always the directness, warmth, and energy; the tone which shows the man thoroughly at home with his audience; the ready, easy, and forcible illustration, prompt to each need of the discourse; and especially a certain dramatic power of presenting the arguments as points of view, hostile or friendly, in strong, clear lines before the popular mind, — a faculty in which Mr. Chapin excels every other speaker whom we have heard. Without the versatility and poetic power of his brilliant contemporary in the New York pulpit, he excels him in some of the best features of religious eloquence, particularly in the simple, strong, manly presentation of moral truth. And it is not only the ordinary religious or Christian view of life that we find presented in these Discourses; for, more distinctly than any religious writer we know, (unless it be the late Mr. Robertson,) Mr. Chapin speaks in the clear and glowing apprehension of the wider application of the same truth in the life of society, and the welfare of humanity at large.

* Extemporaneous Discourses, delivered in the Broadway Church, New York. By E. H. Chapin. First Series. New York: O. Hutchinson.

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What the effect will be on religion, as literature, of the immense fluency and abundance of speech which represent it now, it is hard to say. But in the sphere where their words are listened to, and their power is felt, we can hardly think of an influence more wholly for good than these Discourses on religion as life. We cite them here as fine examples of a class of writings too often overlooked in an estimate of the mental character of a period or a literature, — a class whose abundance and character give it special importance at the present day.

Two able and timely publications by Dr. Ellis attest the indefatigable industry of their author, and the quickened interest in ecclesiastical theology among us.

The question of the Trinity has been newly and extensively discussed in these days. The dogma has been analyzed, criticised, viewed historically, scripturally, philosophically, — shown, one would think, in every possible light; and still the masterly discourse of Dr. Ellis* presents an entirely new treatment of the subject. Viewing it only in its Scriptural aspect, the author has collated the passages in the New Testament out of which the ecclesiastical dogma has been framed, or which give it its show of Scriptural authority. He proves that these materials are perverted when so applied, that the Trinity which they express is something quite different from the ecclesiastical Tripersonality, — a triple denomination of the agents concerned in the work of human redemption, not a triplicity in the nature of the Godhead. "The Trinity as applied to the system of the Gospel, and as indicating in and through that Gospel a threefold working of God, expresses to my mind a true doctrine; but the Trinity as used to state an imaginary complication in the mode of the Divine existence, and as distributing the Godhead into three persons, is, to my mind, the symbol of mere human speculation, vain and erroneous." This discourse accordingly distinguishes itself from the common run of sermons on the Trinity written in the Evangelical or Liberal interest, as opposed to ecclesiastical tradition, by its positive character. Because the Athanasian formula is unevangelical and nonsensical, the author does not therefore reject the more ancient doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but finds in it a genuine Scriptural triunity, that is, a triune agency in the divine work of the Gospel. "We must do justice to those verbal statements, to that mode of representation, to that method of instruction, characteristic of the New Testament writings, which, however far short they fall of asserting a triad of persons in the one God, and indeed however irreconcilable they are with that theosophic mystification of human brains, give us three names which answer to and represent respectively three manifestations or directions of one divine force." Dr. Ellis recommends to readers who would satisfy themselves of the real truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, as a triad of co-operating powers, and the utter

* The Christian Trinity: the Doctrine of God, the Father; Jesus Christ; and the Holy Spirit. A Discourse preached in Harvard Church, Charlestown, February 5, 1860. By George E. Ellis. Charlestown: Abram E. Cutter. 1860.

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absence of anything in the Scriptures implying a partition of the Godhead, the study of the New Testament with reference to this sole point. With an admirable diligence he has brought together, in successive exhibitions, from the Acts, from the Epistle to the Romans, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians, first, all the passages expressive of the immediate agency of God, the Father, in the Christian dispensation; then the texts referring to the action of Jesus Christ, and finally those concerning the operation of the Holy Spirit in promoting and completing the divine result. From which it appears, that there is no "indiscriminate assignment of the works and efficacy of the Gospel indifferently to God and Christ and the Holy Spirit," no "confusion indicated in the use of the three names," but, on the contrary, a most "exact, systematic, and consistent partition of rights, duties, and offices."

The conclusions of this discourse are more fatally detrimental to the Athanasian Creed than the indiscriminate attacks upon it of former polemics, and that unqualified denial of "the Trinity" with which the Unitarians of a former age inaugurated their new communion. We are grateful to Dr. Ellis for so weighty a contribution to sound evangelical theology.

The other publication,* by the same author, to which we have referred, is a spirited and powerful plea for the unity of the Church as founded and consisting in unity of spirit, and not in uniformity of discipline or creed. The exclusive theories of the Roman and Protestant communions, judged by historical and critical tests, are tried and found wanting. The "glorious doctrine of a free and unappropriated Gospel" is affirmed to be "the largest, the most radiant in the crown of Christian verities," and the unconfinable activity and impartial grace of the Holy Spirit are illustrated with the eloquence of luminous insight and fervent conviction. We know of nothing better and more convincing within the same compass on this fruitful topic, and we earnestly recommend the careful perusal of this pamphlet to all Christians whose theory of the Church confounds dogmatic exclusiveness with saving faith.

TWO AMERICAN ROMANCES.

ONCE in a while, the hard New England stock puts out rich and fragrant bloom, which betrays what generous juices flow to its nourishment in the rough soil, and what fine persuasions to fair and fruitful growth lurk in the crude climate of Yankee life and culture. And is it not pleasant to see the rugged and sturdy plant blossoming at times with a strange, aloe-like splendor and exuberance? With those rare and handsome blooms belongs Hawthorne's genius. It is a consummate flower, in whose unfolding one finds sufficient wonder and admiration, and but little reason for any feeling less agreeable or more captious. For it is of a profuse beauty and wholesome uses, and many strong and gentle influences have moved to its developing.

* The Unity of Christ's Church. A Discourse delivered in Harvard Church, Charlestown, March 4, 1860. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Charlestown: Abram E. Cutter. 1860.

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"The Marble Faun"* can but repeat the impression and heighten the regard held of this admirable genius. Closing the book, we have to confess that we are the "gentle reader" of whose existence its Preface hints some regretful doubts. Not, however, that we would conceitedly arrogate all that is imagined there of that amiable person. But we do profess to be so much of him as may consist in hearty welcome of this new story and as hearty thanks for it, although we certainly may not claim the large right of genial and wise gentlehood, which Mr. Hawthorne attributes to that best friend of authors, as the "representative essence of all delightful and desirable qualities which a reader can possess."

It is a fascinating story. And yet, when we turn back to it, the material of plot and incident is meagre, compared with the array of circumstance, complication of events, and all the cunning machinery by which a novel generally moves on to an end carefully adjusted to the means employed. It is almost a story without an end, and we have heard much discontent that things were not made plainer in the last pages. Many good people are looking for a sequel which shall discover if Donatello's curls really hid the Faun's furry ears, and whether Miriam had Cenci blood in her, and what became of Hilda in those days when the Virgin's lamp went out, and the doves were unfed, and Kenyon wretched, and just who the queer union of spectre, model, and Capuchin was. But, as a story, and for the excitement of plot and issue, the book would seem to have little beside this mystery. For the characters are few, and the events, save the one fearful crime, not marked and striking. Its fascination lies deeper than the romantic interest excited by deft handling of stirring adventures and strange destinies, and by the portentous followings of consequence, through remarkable crises, up to a nicely fitted close, where all get justice and the riddles are all solved.

For the interest, then, deeper than the merely romantic, we have here, beside that peculiar subtilty of moral and spiritual search and apprehension which is the main thing in all Hawthorne's works, the new element of impressions recorded from delicate observation of life in Italy, particularly in Rome, and of ancient and modern art treasured or developed there.

One could hardly promise himself so much real delight and inspiration from any record of Italian and Roman life, as this gives with no niggard hand. The subject is so hackneyed by the swarm of literary travellers and æsthetic tourists, that fresh and keen pleasure could hardly be looked for in so well worn a theme. The form of the record is, to be sure, much in its favor. Some years ago, Andersen's "Improvvisatore" showed that the romance was the most valuable form which an exposition of the country, people, life, manners, and art of Italy could take. For real instruction, not to speak of pleasure, it is a thousand-fold preferable to "classical tours," "diaries," and all such

* The Marble Faun: or, The Romance of Monte Beni. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860.

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guide-book and *catalogue raisonné* dulness. But when a form, so apt in itself, is informed with genius, we have, as here, enjoyable proof how much finer the eye of the imagination is for the shows of nature and life, than the sight of the understanding, to the interpretation of their beauty or significance.

Imagination is, for the symbolism which marks all the sacred territory of Rome, the penetrative and revealing power, — like that princely authority which should turn the course of the Tiber, to uncover the riches which the yellow river has been hiding so long, and bring to the forgotten light armor and chariots, effigies of senators and emperors, altars and statues of the gods, vessels and emblems of heathen temples, and perhaps, strangely enough, that golden seven-branched candlestick which Titus took from the holy place of the One God in Jerusalem, and carved upon the arch of his triumph. This interpretative faculty Mr. Hawthorne has. It is not eager and darting, with fiery intensity, to the heart of mysteries, but by a calmer and more patient way — not with passionate surge, but with intellectual drift and flow — it enters into the secrets of beauty and awe and fate which Rome keeps for it, but denies to apprehensions less fine.

But, after all, this, like its writer's former works, is most remarkable for its anatomizing of moral and spiritual conditions. And it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the metaphysical element makes not only its marked distinction, but its peculiar interest. If its elimination from the action of the story could be conceived, what would be left us of attraction in the persons and events, and in the criticism of art or the description of localities and manners, must, in comparison, appear inconsiderable. For this element, metaphysical both in the Shakespearian sense of Lady Macbeth's "fate and metaphysical aid," and in the usual meaning of search and exposition of facts and motions of the mental and moral nature, does not simply invest the book as costume, but is infused as life. It is not structural, belonging to its formal make-up, but intrinsic, of its pervading and moving spirit. As we feel its weird and sombre influence, we doubt if Romance be the fit title of the story. We never call Albert Durer's "Knight and Death" romantic, though all the mediæval adjuncts of mail and arms, of castled landscape, dark wood, grotesque fiend, and pale spectre are the belongings of romance. There is that in the rider's thoughtful, solemn face, as it were the shadow of the "mystery of iniquity," falling upon and sobering, but not darkening, the faith of the good soldier of Christ and tried knight of God, which makes this epithet inapplicable, if not injurious. So here, where, as we are carried along in the order of external circumstance, we follow still more closely the course of moral struggles and exigencies, and find, in the playing out of the drama, our interest engaged, more than in any outward bearing and action, in the passionate strife, with its catastrophes of evil or issues of good, which marks the temptation and the developing of human spirits, we question whether the addition of "The Romance of Monte Beni" belongs to the name of "The White Faun." The query, however, must not be thought the mere criticism of the title, but as put in the interest of a profound

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admiration for the thoughtful and serious spirit, and the skilful subtilty in the treatment of the unsolved, perhaps here always unsolvable, problem of moral evil.

To a review of the book would belong an analysis of the writer's genius. We must let these few suggestions, out of the many it made while we read with so much delight, pass for an insufficient notice, to be sure, but for hearty welcome and thanks.

Our new ghost-story * is like its own description of Sir Rohan's conservatory. It is all impossible, but fascinating, — lavish of rare colors and aglow with brilliantest tints which are yet massed, not with deft choice and tender combinations, but with broad contrasts, and over-glare of splendor, and blazing discord set among the color-chords, — replete with shapes of striking loveliness, but also with strange forms twisting easily into perplexed and tortured grotesqueness, — profuse, but over-luxuriant, like the lush mosses, tangled vines, and feathery ferns under the glass roof there, — a wonderful sensuous beauty throughout, but with a something evil breathing through it, like the too luscious, unhealthy fragrance steaming from those crimson bells and purple cups of golden clusters. It is the show, withal, and proof, of a munificent nature, generous in present gift and plenteous with promise, like those tropical plants crowned with magnificent bloom and hung full of seed of reproduction.

To those who meet it half-way, and for the moment give themselves up to its enticements of sensuous beauty and mystic suggestion, this notable power will serve peculiar interest and pleasure. It is this new author's salient faculty, but her great danger. It is the perilous facility. It is apt to carry away its owner, and lead her on fantastical races. Yet it seems almost ungracious to find fault with the minister of so much eye-detaining splendor and heart-seizing mystery. By and by it will learn the lesson taught in the legend from Montaigne, put at the title-page, of "*Rien trop.*" And it is juster and wiser than fault-finding, to rank its present gift on that level of attainment where Keats's fancy found "Endymion," and trust that it will work up to that higher place and nobler exercise of confirmed, because governed power, where it also may find its "Hyperion."

We have heard the book blamed for its want of tenderness, and women find special fault with Miriam because there is no feminine sweetness about her temper or conduct. No sweetness, to be sure, but abundant woman's passion, which, for story purposes, is as good, perhaps better. Yet we confess to a feeling of her unrealness, a fitfulness which her Bohemian blood hardly explains. Is she not in this of the Undine race? Save that the pale complexion and delicate make of the daughter of the waters is shot through with the flushing, golden blood of Giorgione's Venetians, kindling a love and nourishing a life, more passionate and brightly colored than the elf-lady's, though quite as inconstant and strange. The lack of tenderness and of fair humani-

* Sir Rohan's Ghost. A Romance. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860.

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ties in the book, and its tendency to the weird and night-side of nature, which so unincarnates its persons and puts them in unsympathetic remoteness, where they take a vague and apparition-like aspect, belong simply to the ghostliness which a ghost-story should have. And, besides, we have often observed, that where any passage of grand or fine spiritual history is taken up, any phase set forth of the mysterious junction in the soul of sorrow with aspiration, any action or crisis described of the deeper strifes with evil, any movement followed of its pursuing retributions along their winding way to the bitter end, or any show displayed of triumph over it after a long conflict, then the events and people of the story seem moved back into dim distances, and it is as though a veil were interposed, behind whose cloudiness scenes take fantastic and terrible shapes, incidents fall to unwonted issues, and persons, in their withdrawal from familiar and usual experience, pass as in the procession of a dream.

Much must be left unsaid of the praise due to the beauty and truthfulness of the form and matter of "Sir Rohan's Ghost." Much also of the blame due to what is ugly and false in it. But in the way of verbal particularity, we protest against the new-coined, ill-looking, and bad-sounding words, the "vile phrases" not infrequent on these pages. They are both an offence against the good manners of letters, and a blot upon the book. Then we protest, with much more heartiness than St. Denys, against the repetition of such wretched punning freaks as Miriam indulges in. They do not fit her, and they are not good quips. They were musty when we were "impubes tenerique" in college. They provoke no mirth, but only irritate by their misplaced vulgarity and utter silliness. As to the taint of evil, the impression of which spreads to us out of the pervading sensuousness of the book like the heavy and subtile perfumes of the conservatory which gathered around the heads and stole away the senses of those who lingered there, let the fable of the German poet point its moral to the danger risked by authorship which does not put sensuous fancy in due subordination to higher powers. It tells how the maiden picked, in her roving search, flowers of rich color and pungent fragrance, but brought home in their tinted and sweet blooms certain malicious sprites, who, while she slept, rose upon the heavy night-reek of the blossoms and revenged themselves by her death.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A LONDON lawyer of eminence, remarkable for a Boswellian knack of recording conversations, and favored with months of familiar intercourse among the highest political and business circles in Constantinople and Athens, has furnished original and conclusive testimony to the inevitable fate of the Turkish empire.* Friends at a distance had hoped that the final result of the Crimean struggle would be the reno-

* A Journal kept in Turkey and Greece, in the Autumn of 1857 and Beginning of 1858. By NASSAU W. SENIOR, Esq. London: Longman & Co. 1859.

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vation of the government in whose behalf it was undertaken. Christianity with all its recuperative powers was to have free course in the decrepit kingdom; foreigners, with the prestige of victorious liberators, were to set on foot public-spirited enterprises; Abdul Medjid, his eyes rudely torn open, would see his way to be something else than the insatiable oppressor of a too patient people. Mr. Senior's reported conversations show that, by the confessions of men of all classes, no change for the better was to be expected even in Turkey, — that whatever change successful war, increased foreign influence, or concessions to the Allied Powers may have produced, has been unquestionably pernicious to the Turk. One threatening political vice is that official corruption, so remarkable in a people whose ordinary dealings are characterized by honesty. The most patriotic statesman Turkey possesses, Redschid Pasha, has led the way in making such appropriations to himself as render him independent of office. The Sultan is ever building needless palaces, and each is favored by his ministers because of the splendid bribes in its train. It is hardly possible for a Pasha to remain poor, because whatever service he requires of a village or an individual the rich will evade by a handsome payment, when the poor neighbor will have to perform his task without compensation, to his utter ruin.

Foreign interference, so far from being a benefit, proves a bitter curse. The first step in Turkish renovation, Mr. Senior was generally told, would be the banishment of every European government's representative. Each Minister seems bound to defeat the measures of his rival. Redschid Pasha, whom England supports, France opposes. Ferad, whom France upholds, England cannot tolerate. So with the most needed step of improvement, roads, one interfering power will permit nothing but railroads, another prefers canals; and between them, neither is likely to be done, at least not enough to arrest the impoverishment of the country, or the decrease of its population. "Turkey is the man in Molière who died of three physicians and two apothecaries."

The famous treaty of February, 1856, which secured to infidel foreigners the right to purchase Turkish soil, is of little use, because the purchaser forfeits his right of trial in the Consular Court of his own nation, and comes under the jurisdiction of Turkish justice, as capricious as it is summary. Besides this, out of Constantinople local feeling has more power than unpopular Abdul Medjid; and, as the larger part of the land has been willed as a sacred trust to the Mosque, its alienation by the Giaour is peculiarly offensive. Where the intruders have most influence, in the European suburb of Constantinople, vice and crime are altogether the most prolific, drinking-shops abound, murders are frequent, and the last state is evidently worse than the first.

The mere fact of the decay of Turkish population — due partly to their own deplorable habits, to the practice of infanticide and general demoralization, partly to their constituting the rank and file of armies which were decimated by the war — settles the question. The Christian majority is hourly increasing in numbers, wealth, intelligence,

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energy, hope: it cannot be much longer oppressed by a race it despises: when the time comes for it to resume its manhood, the wonder will be it has been so long prostrate under so paralytic an oppressor.

As to the Sultan, who showed so much energy in putting down that far-reaching conspiracy a year ago, in this as in every other movement the little that he does is to avert some possible good from the most misgoverned country upon earth. Hopelessly in debt, his only anxiety is to build more palaces on the Bosphorus. Aware of the decrease of the Turks, he shuts his eyes to the inevitable consequences. Certain of being obliged to defend his empire, if not his life, from assault, he persists in setting the example of thorough sensuality. At the crisis of his country's destiny, he refuses to see anything, hear anything, know anything, be anything, — the slave himself of slaves, as well as the victim of appetite and lust.

Mrs. Lee, to whom the public are already indebted for several excellent publications, original and translated, illustrative of German literature and life, has rendered new service in this kind by turning into English Auerbach's delicious little story, the *Barfüssele*,* — a noted favorite in its native land, and familiar to readers of German in this country. A tale of German peasant life is this, full of the humor and pathos, the nice observation and profound appreciation of that order of society, which distinguish Auerbach's *Dorfgeschichten*, — the work on which his popularity with his countrymen and countrywomen is chiefly based. Mrs. Lee's translation is spirited, and written in pure English, and, though not precisely reproducing the original in every particular, is true to its general tone and spirit, and altogether a delightful little volume.

Mr. Marsh's Lectures on the English Language † were welcomed with enthusiasm by those who were competent to judge when he first delivered them. Now that he publishes them, he gives us the most valuable treatise we have on our language, of an interest which fascinates not only philologists by profession, but every person of intelligence. Our own review of the book is, unfortunately, postponed till our next number; but, without compelling our readers to wait until midsummer, we will so far anticipate our own criticism as to say, that, with the most careful learning on the subject, it is treated with such wealth of illustration and spirit of style, that this is the most entertaining book of the year.

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* The Barefooted Maiden. A Tale. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated by Eliza Buckminster Lee. Illustrated. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1860.

† Lectures on the English Language. By George P. Marsh.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

THEOLOGY AND RELIGION.

Hours with the Evangelists. By I. Nichols, D. D. 2 vols. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 8vo. pp. 405. (Noticed in January.)

Life of Jesus, a Manual for Academic Study. By Dr. Carl Hase. Translated by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 267. (See p. 472.)

Passing Thoughts on Religion. By the Author of "Amy Herbert," &c.

Night Lessons from Scripture. By the same. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The Guilt of Slavery and the Crime of Slaveholding, demonstrated from the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. By George B. Cheever. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. pp. 472.

Disquisitions and Notes on the Gospels. Matthew. By John H. Morison. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 12mo. pp. 538. (See p. 471.)

Extemporaneous Discourses, delivered in the Broadway Church, New York. Reported as delivered, and corrected by the Author. By E. H. Chapin, D. D. First Series. New York: O. Hutchinson. 12mo. pp. 358. (See p. 475.)

Life's Evening; or, Thoughts for the Aged. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 24mo. pp. 265.

The Church and the Press: a Sermon, by A. C. Coxe. New York: Episcopal Book Society. 12mo. pp. 48.

The Bible and Social Reform; or, The Scriptures as a Means of Civilization. By R. H. Tyler. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 12mo. pp. 366.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Treason of Charles Lee, Major-General, Second in Command in the American Army of the Revolution. By George H. Moore. New York: Charles Scribner. 8vo. pp. 115.

A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D. D. By Francis Wayland. New York: Sheldon & Co. Two vols. in one. 12mo. pp. 544, 404.

Isaac T. Hopper. A True Life. By L. Maria Child. 12th Thousand. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 12mo. pp. 493.

The Puritans; or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England, during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. By Samuel Hopkins. Vol. II. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 539.

The Life of Daniel Wilson, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. By Josiah Bateman. With Portraits, Map, and Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 8vo.

History of the Early Church, from the First Preaching of the Gospel to the Council of Nicæa. For the Use of Young Persons. By the Author of "Amy Herbert." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 24mo. pp. 383.

The History of Herodotus. A New English Version. By George Rawlinson, M. A. Vol. III. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 463.

The History of France. By Parke Godwin. Vol. I. (Ancient Gaul.) New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 495.

The Pioneers, Preachers, and People of the Mississippi Valley. By W. H. Milburn. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 465.

Stories of Inventors and Discoverers in Science and the Useful Arts. By

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John Timbs. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 473.

Memoir of the Duchess of Orleans. By the Marquess de H——. Together with Biographical Souvenirs and Original Letters. Collected by Prof. G. H. de Schubert. Translated from the French. New York: Charles Scribner. 12mo. pp. 391.

Gowans's Bibliotheca Americana. 2. A Two Years' Journal in New York and Part of its Territories in America. (1778–79.) By Charles Wooley. New York: William Gowans. 8vo. pp. 97.

ESSAYS, ETC.

A Familiar Forensic View of Man and Law. By Robert B. Warden. 8vo. pp. 550.

Cyclopædia of Literary and Scientific Anecdote. Edited by William Keddie. From the London Edition. 8vo. pp. 459.

School Days of Eminent Men. By John Timbs. From the London Edition. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 8vo. pp. 309.

Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, etc., for 1859. Boston: William White. 8vo. pp. 324.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. Collected and republished by Thomas Carlyle. Boston: Brown & Taggard. 4 vols. 12mo. pp. 491, 490, 480.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

Notes of Travel and Study in Italy. By Charles Eliot Norton. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 18mo. pp. 320. (Notice deferred.)

Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, in the Years 1857, '58, '59. By Laurence Oliphant, Esq. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 645.

Letters from Switzerland. By Samuel Irenæus Prime. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 264.

EDUCATION.

American Normal Schools; their Theory, their Workings, and their Results. (Proceedings of the Convention of the Normal School Association for 1859.) 8vo. pp. 113.

The National Fifth Reader. By Richard G. Parker and J. M. Watson. 12mo. pp. 600.

Elements of Mechanics, for the Use of Colleges, Academies, and High Schools. By William G. Peck. 12mo. pp. 338.

Bible History; a Text-Book for Seminaries, Schools, and Families. By Sarah R. Hanna. New York: Barnes & Burr. 12mo. pp. 290.

Elements of Chemical Physics. By Josiah P. Cooke, Jr. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 8vo. pp. 739. (To be noticed.)

POETRY.

Napoleon III. in Italy, and Other Poems. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 18mo. pp. 72.

Nugamenta; a Book of Verses. By George Edward Rice. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 18mo. pp. 146.

Poems, Lyrical and Idyllic. By Edmund Clarence Stedman. New York: Charles Scribner. 18mo. pp. 196.

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NOVELS AND TALES.

Adela, the Octoroon. By H. L. Hosmer. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 12mo. pp. 400.

The Marble Faun; or, The Romance of Monte Beni. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 2 vols. 18mo. (See p. 478.)

Cathara Clyde. A Novel. By Inconnu. New York: Charles Scribner. 12mo. pp. 377.

Tylney Hall. By Thomas Hood. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 479.

Bertha Percy; or, L'Esperance. By Margaret Field. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 567.

JUVENILE.

Hester and I; or, Beware of Worldliness. By Mrs. Manners. New York: Sheldon & Co. 24mo. pp. 237.

The Florence Stories. By Jacob Abbott Grimkie. New York: Sheldon & Co. 18mo. pp. 252.

Friarswood Post-Office. By the Author of the Heir of Redclyffe. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 24mo. pp. 251.

Stories of Rainbow and Lucky. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 24mo. pp. 190.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New American Cyclopædia; a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Vol. IX. 8vo. pp. 790.

The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius, literally translated into English Prose. By Rev. Lewis Evans. With Gifford's Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius. New York: Harper & Brothers. 16mo. pp. 512.

Spiritualism Tested; or the Facts of its History classified and their Causes verified. By George W. Samson. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 18mo. pp. 185.

Report of the Commissioner of Patents, for the Year 1858. Arts and Manufactures. 3 vols. 8vo. Washington: William A. Harris.

Our Bible Chronology critically examined and demonstrated. With Charts and Tables. By Rev. R. C. Shimeall. New York: Barnes & Burr. Large 8vo. pp. 234.

Record of Inscriptions in the Cemetery and Building of the Unitarian, formerly denominated the Independent Church, Archdale Street, Charleston, S. C. From 1777 to 1860. Arranged by Caroline Gilman. Charleston: Walker, Evans, & Co. 12mo. pp. 190.

Old Leaves. Gathered from Household Words. By W. Henry Wills. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 467.

PAMPHLETS.

Eighteenth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large in the City of Providence. By E. M. Stone. Providence: Knowles, Anthony, & Co. pp. 27.

The Friendliness there is in Christ. A Farewell Discourse, preached at Canton, Feb. 26, 1860. By Rev. N. H. Chamberlain. Published by Request. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. pp. 22.

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